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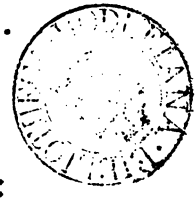

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THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR.

ART. I.—DR. JOHN BROWN, OF EDINBURGH.

"Of all the John Browns we like
Dr. John Brown the best."—*The Times.*

AMONG the more noble of Auld Scotia's sons, who, in the walks of Sacred Literature, have won for themselves a name and enduring fame, Dr. John Brown is acknowledged to occupy a proud position, even in the foremost rank. He was born at Burnhead, in the parish of Whitburn, and county of Linlithgow, July 12th, 1784. He was the eldest son of the Rev. John Brown, minister of the Burgher Secession Church; and grandson of the eminent Rev. John Brown, of Haddington, author of the "Self-Interpreting Bible," the "Dictionary of the Bible," and several other works, mostly biblical, which even in our day find admiring readers. In our narrative of Dr. John Brown, we shall freely use the excellent "Memoir," by Dr. Cairns, "My Father's Memoir," by John Brown, M.D., and other Memoirs of the family; to which we prefix some notices of the remarkable family, especially of him who is regarded as "the founder of the dynasty of John Browns."

John Brown, of Haddington, is one of the best remembered names in Scotland, and also in England, in connection with the theology of the eighteenth century. Born in the parish of Carpow, near Abernethy, in Perthshire, and left an orphan when only eleven years old; he received but a scanty English education, and never bestowed more than one month at school upon Latin. Yet he contrived to acquire a knowledge not only of that language, but also of Greek and Hebrew, when tending sheep on the hills; and his progress seemed so marvellous, that rustic superstition, probably not without a tincture of malice and envy, ascribed it to an infernal origin. This reproach fell in vain, for his piety was as conspicuous as his learning, and in every respect worthy of that sacred vocation to which, amidst these struggles, he looked forward.

The "herd laddie" had now acquired so much of Greek as encouraged him to hope that he might at length be prepared to reap the richest of all rewards which classical learning could confer on him, the capacity of reading in the original tongue the blessed New Testament of our Lord and Saviour. Full of this hope, he became anxious to possess a copy of the invaluable volume. One night, having committed the charge of his sheep to a companion, he set out on a midnight journey to St. Andrews, a distance of twenty-four miles. He reached his destination in the morning, and went to the bookseller's shop asking for a copy of the Greek New Testament. The master of the shop, surprised at such a request from a shepherd boy, was disposed to make game of him. Some of the Professors coming into the shop at the same time, questioned the lad about his employment and studies. After hearing his tale, one of them desired the bookseller to bring the volume. He did so, and drawing it down, said, "Boy, read this, and you shall have it for nothing." The boy did so, acquitted himself to the admira- of his judges, and carried off his Testament; and on the evening of the same day was studying it in the midst of his flock on the braes of Abernethy. John Brown, M.D., the author of "Rab and his Friends," still possesses as an heirloom the Greek Testament which his father, Dr. John Brown, fondly regarded as the one his grandfather, when a herd laddie, got from the Professor who had heard him ask for it, and promised him it if he could read a verse. This little worn old book is imperfect, wanting a great part of the Gospel of Matthew. Surely in his defence of himself against the astonishing and base charge of getting his learning from the devil, John Brown could well afford to say, "that shrewd personage would not have employed him on the Greek Testament." However, he assiduously studied the book,—the sword of the spirit,—which he had so nobly won, and wore, and warred with it. Not only was he eager and indomitable in his studies, but he would run miles to and back again, to hear a sermon after folding his sheep at noon.

The Scottish form of dissent from the National Church, called the Secession, had taken its rise in 1733; and with this body John Brown had from his boyhood cast in his lot. Under the auspices of the founder of the Secession, Ebenezer Erskine, and of his brother Ralph, he prepared himself for the ministry. They assisted him to open an adventure school, and to complete his studies in philosophy and theology. In the disruption which occurred in the Secession, respecting a burgess oath, he sided with the Erskines, and adhered to what was called the Burgher party.

Though John Brown had never been within the walls of a University, he became minister of the Secession Church in Haddington in 1750. He was at that time twenty-eight years of age. Worldly reward, as a Seceding Minister, he neither expected nor

received, for his stipend, on which he kept his family creditably, was never more than fifty, and for a long time only forty pounds a year, giving largely in charity, and never wanting as he said, "lying money." His attainments were already great when he entered the ministry, and were constantly increased by an almost incredible industry to the end of his life. He knew nine or ten languages, classical, oriental, and modern. He had committed to memory much of the English Bible. He had amassed vast stores of Puritan, Scottish and Dutch divinity. He had also read and compendized numerous works in universal history and miscellaneous literature. His ministerial life at Haddington was without incident, being made up of incessant study and self-denying labour amongst the people of his charge. It was only diversified by the publication of his several works, and by his appointment to the office of professor in training candidates for the ministry in the Burgher branch of the Secession. This appointment he held from 1768 till his death in 1787.

John Brown, of Haddington, was greater as a scholar and a saint than as an independent thinker; his writings contain masses of information on miscellaneous biblical topics. He was devoted to learning, and to the work of preaching and teaching. He seems to have possessed, like most complete men, an amount of humour and keen wit. Some of his *snell* sayings are still remembered. A lad of an excitable temperament waited on him, and informed him that he wished to be a preacher of the gospel. John Brown finding him as weak in intellect as he was strong in conceit, advised him to continue in his present vocation. The young man said, "But I wish to preach and glorify God." "My young friend, a man may glorify God making broom besoms; stick to your trade, and glorify God by your walk and conversation."

When John Brown came to Haddington, there was one man of the church who held out against his "call." Mr. Brown meeting him when they could not avoid each other, the non-content said, "Ye see, sir, I canna say what I dinna think, and I think ye're ower young and inexperienced for the charge." "So I think too, David, but it would never do *for you and me* to gang in the face o' the hale congregation."

The following is a singular illustration of the prevailing dark and severe tone of the religious teaching of that time, and also of its strength: A poor old woman, of great worth and excellent understanding, in whose conversation Mr. Brown took much pleasure, was on her death-bed. Wishing to try her faith, he said to her, "Janet, what would you say if, after all he has done for you, God should let you drop into hell?" "E'en's (even as) he likes; if he does, *He'll lose mair than I'll do.*" There is something not less than sublime in this reply. It would seem that John Brown did not

sympathise with the great Methodist revival of religion. John Wesley, in his sermon at York, in May, 1788, mentioned that John Brown, of Haddington, on his death-bed, in reckoning up the mercies of God, acknowledged his being kept from "following that man of sin, John Wesley." "But," said the founder of Methodism, rubbing his hands, and looking upward, "I hope to meet John Brown in heaven, and join him in the praises of God and the Lamb."

From the venerable John Brown, of Haddington, a succession of persons have sprung, more or less distinguished in Scottish history and literature, who have developed in different directions the universality which lay in their common ancestor. He had six sons and one daughter. His eldest son John—the father of Dr. John Brown—was a man of singular simplicity and loveableness of nature, and like his master, continually going about doing good. The second son, Ebenezer, was the minister of the Burgher Secession church at Inverkeithing, whose apostolic look and address none who ever came under their power could forget. There is quite a characteristic story of Lord Brougham going to hear the old man Ebenezer Brown. Brougham and Denman were on a visit to James Stuart, of Dunearn, about the time of Queen Caroline's trial. They had asked Stuart where they should go to church; he said he would take them to a Seceder minister at Inverkeithing. They went, and as Mr. Stuart had described the saintly old man, Brougham said he would like to be introduced to him, and arriving before service time, Mr. Stuart called, and left a message that some gentlemen wished to see him. The answer was that "Maister Brown saw nobody before divine worship." He then sent in Brougham and Denman's names. "Mr. Brown's compliments to Mr. Stuart, and he sees nobody before sermon;" and in a few minutes out came the stooping, shy, old man, and passed them, unconscious of their presence. They sat in the front gallery, and he preached a faithful sermon, full of fire and of native force. It is said that Brougham never took his eyes off the old man till the close, and, after being quiet for some time, said to his friend, "Denman that's beyond you and me; that's nature's." They came away greatly moved, and each wrote to Lord Jeffrey to lose not a week in coming to hear the greatest natural orator they had ever heard. Jeffrey came next Sunday, and often after declared he never heard such words, such a sacred, untaught gift of speech.

A somewhat racy story is told of Ebenezer Brown. He had established a weekday sermon at the North Ferry, about two miles from Inverkeithing. It was winter, and a wild snow-drifting, and dangerous day. His daughters (his wife was dead) besought him not to go; he smiled vaguely, but continued getting into his big-coat. Nothing would stay him, and away he and the pony

stumbled through the blinding snow. He was half-way on his journey, and had got into the sermon he was going to preach, and was utterly insensible to the outward storm; his pony getting its feet *balled*, staggered about, and at last upset his master and himself into the ditch by the road-side. The feeble, headless, rapt old man might have perished there, had not some carters, bringing up whisky casks from the Ferry, seen the catastrophe, and rushed up, raising him, and *dichtin'* him with much commiseration and blunt speech—"Puir auld man, what brocht ye here in sic a day?" There they were, a rough crew, surrounding the saintly old man, some putting on his hat, sorting and cheering him, and others knocking the balls off the pony's feet, and stuffing them with grease. He was most polite and grateful, and one of these cordial ruffians having pierced a cask, brought him a horn of whisky, and said, "Tak that, it 'll hearten ye." He took the horn, and bowing to them, said, "Sirs, let us give thanks!" and there, by the road-side, in the drift and storm, with these wild fellows, he asked a blessing on it, and for his kind deliverers, and took a tasting of the horn. The men cried like children, they lifted him on his pony, one going with him, and when the rest arrived in Inverkeithing, they repeated the story to everybody, and broke down in tears whenever they came to the blessing. "And to think o' askin' a blessin' on a tass o' whisky!" Next Presbytery day, after the ordinary business was over, he rose up—he seldom spoke—and said, "Moderator, I have something personal to myself to say. I have often said that real kindness belongs only to true Christians, but"—and then he told the story of these men; "but more true kindness I never experienced than from these lads. They may have had the grace of God, I don't know, but I never mean again to be so *positive* in speaking of this matter."

This saintly old man, when on a missionary tour in the north, one morning met with a body of Highland shearers on their way to the harvest; he asked them to stop and hear the word of God. They said they could not, as they had their wages to work for. He offered them what they said they would lose; to this they agreed, and he paid them, and closing his eyes engaged in prayer; when he had ended, he looked up, and his congregation had vanished! His shrewd brother Thomas, to whom he complained of this faithlessness, said, "Eben, the next time you pay folk to hear you preach, keep your eyes open, and pay them when you are done."

The Rev. John Brown, the father of Dr. John Brown, was minister of the Burgher Secession, at Whitburn, a village among the wild uplands of Linlithgowshire. He was saintly in his character and simple in his life, with much of his father's theological tastes and predilections, and with not a little of the same passion, both for acquiring knowledge and communicating it by publication. He

partook largely of the missionary spirit which had stirred the universal church. He undertook repeated missionary journeys to the Highlands, and had a principal share in the formation of a Gaelic Society, which has since accomplished much in the work of vernacular instruction. He effected in his generation no small amount of good, and was held in reputation, not only for his father's sake, but for his own. His ministry ran through fifty-five years, extending from 1777 to 1832. His wife, Isabella Cranston, a native of Kelso, was an excellent woman, and their first son is another example of eminent men whose characters have been formed under the influence of maternal piety.

John Brown, the son of the Rev. John Brown, born as already stated in 1784, inherited through his father many of the best qualities of his grandfather, John Brown, of Haddington; especially the passion for letters, and the habits of untiring study. In face and form he is said to have more resembled his excellent mother, whose personal beauty was remarkable; and he perhaps derived from her also his meditative turn of character. In infancy he was feeble and delicate, and it was not till his college years that he shot up into tallness of stature, and developed the native strength of his constitution. His early days after infancy were passed at the manse at Langrig, (*Anglicè*, Longridge,) where the ridge attains its highest elevation, and the eye commands an immense expanse all round. After receiving the rudiments of education from relatives of the family, and at a preparatory school, he was transferred to the parish school at Whitburn, where he received the most valuable part of his school training, both ordinary and classical. His teacher's name was Macdonald, a man, like many of the Scottish schoolmasters, of superior literary and classical attainments, and of genuine literary tastes, who sent out some very respectable scholars. In the parish school John Brown soon rose to the highest place; and a Bible is preserved, which he received as a prize from Lord Polkemmet, one of the Judges of the Court of Session. The teacher, whose discipline was not the strictest, and who used to beguile his school hours with Shakspeare, as a mark of special grace allowed his favourite pupil to read over his shoulder.

There is no record of anything such as is commonly called conversion in John Brown's history; but it cannot be doubted, that from the beginning the grace of God had been at work in his soul. In both of his parents religion appeared in an amiable as well as serious light; and the growth of religious feeling in their son seems to have kept pace, in these early days, with the development of mind. As a proof of the hold which religious influences had taken of him, the boy, before he left the preparatory school, had commenced a morning prayer-meeting in it, ere the work of each day began,

which was attended by five or six other scholars. He rarely joined in play with other children; and when he did venture he would reprove them if they happened to use any improper language. He was looked upon as a minister almost from his cradle, and assumed the responsibility thus devolved on him. When still a school-boy he had begun to teach a Sabbath-class, attended by the children of the Langrig cottages and the junior members of his own family, to whom he gave serious advices, and dwelt on favourite portions of scripture. Amongst the influences which must have acted favourably in confirming these early religious impressions was the sacred excitement connected in those days with the observance of the Lord's Supper. The moorland solitude was then enlivened by immense crowds of worshippers from all quarters, while within the walls of the sanctuary, or beneath a tent erected outside, some of the saintly men of a former generation addressed the multitude. On one of these occasions, John Brown, then not more than fourteen years of age, had determined to join the fellowship of the church, and sit down at his father's communion table. An attack of fever, which intervened, frustrated this intention; but instead of waiting for the next season, he accompanied his father to the ordinance at the neighbouring church of Cambusnethan, where he celebrated his deliverance from recent disease, and professed for the first time his faith in Christ. His sainted mother, who had so tenderly watched over his religious promise, did not live to see this public profession. She had passed away when he was little more than eleven years of age. The removal of such a mother opened the flood-gates of grief in the heart of her son; and this first shock of grief is supposed to have called out that latent constitutional sadness into which he more or less relapsed at intervals to the close of his life. He found relief in dwelling upon her memory, and in writing a child-like history of her life and death, which was afterwards inserted by him, with some alterations, in an edition of Gibbon's *Memoirs of Eminently Pious Women.*

The next step in the career of John Brown, as a candidate for the Secession ministry, was to enter the University of Edinburgh. There his attendance began in November, 1797, and lasted through the next three sessions to April, 1800. He studied Greek under Professor Dalziel, and Humanity, or Latin, probably under Dr. Hill. He also attended to Logic under Dr. Finlayson, a follower of Reid. The lectures on Moral Philosophy, by Dugald Stuart—then in the zenith of his fame—John Brown was not permitted to attend. His father, inheriting the scruples of John Brown of Haddington, who, probably shared the prejudice of King George the third against Scottish metaphysics, regarded this study, in the form in which it had been taught in the Universities, as a vain substitute for the Christian revelation, disallowed the course.

However, he afterwards mastered all the eloquent lecturer's writings, and spoke of him even to old age with an almost juvenile admiration. During his University course, which ended before he had completed his sixteenth year, he formed connections with several students who afterwards became influential and eminent in various departments.

It was customary then, as now, for aspirants to the Secession ministry to support themselves by teaching. John left the manse at Whitburn to meet this common lot immediately after his last college session. Before he was sixteen he commenced teaching a school at Elie, on the eastern coast of Fife, where he remained for three years. He carried with him his father's blessing, and a guinea—the last he ever got from any one but himself. This was his first fronting of the world. Besides supporting himself, this knit the sinews of his mind, and resulted in the stamp of self-reliance and independence.

From his young and slight, almost girlish look, and his refined, quiet manners, the boys of the school—many of whom were bigger and older than himself—were inclined to annoy and bully him. He saw this, and felt that it was now or never,—nothing between. So he took his line. The biggest boy, much older and stronger than himself, was the rudest, and infected the rest. The "*wee minister*" ordered him, in peremptory voice, to stand up and hold out his hand, being not at all sure but the big fellow might knock him down on the word. To the astonishment of the school, and the big rebel's too, he obeyed and was punished on the instant, and to the full; out went the hand, down came the *taws*, and bit like fire. From that moment he ruled them by his eye, the *taws* vanished.

After an examination by the Burgher Presbytery of Perth, John Brown entered, in August 1800, the Divinity Hall, which was then under the care of the Rev. Dr. George Lawson, of Selkirk. His student life extended only for a month or six weeks in the year until September 1804. The radical evil of the system of theological education presided over by Dr. Lawson, was the brevity of attendance. From the Divinity Hall year by year Mr. Brown returned to Elie and resumed his school. During his stay at Elie he was connected with a theological society, formed by the students of the same church, who, to the number of six or eight, taught schools in the adjacent villages. His exercises in this society must have been a valuable supplement to his more formal theological education. His interest in Sabbath-schools continued, and he regularly taught a class in his schoolroom, which was long remembered by some with gratitude.

In April, 1803, Mr. Brown relinquished his position in Elie, and went to reside as a private teacher in Glasgow, where he re-

mained till the last year of his attendance on the Divinity Hall, in August, 1804. About this time it appears there were uneasy impressions in some quarters that his extensive addiction to philosophy and literature augured ill for the adherence of this rising student to the old paths of the Secession. It may be that he felt a somewhat violent recoil from the popular style of evangelical preaching, and expected more from a different method than the wisdom of this world can ever yield. This, however, gradually corrected itself, and ere long the matter of his discourses ran with sufficient clearness into the old moulds, though, in some instances, wearing a novel stamp. Not a little perhaps of Mr. Brown's subsequent toleration was owing to these early experiences of misconstruction, when he was consciously sound at heart.

Having finished his studies in September, 1804, Mr. Brown completed his trial exercises for license before the Presbytery of Stirling and Falkirk, to which he was for this purpose transferred by the Presbytery of Glasgow; and he was licensed to preach the gospel on the 12th of February, 1805. He had not then completed his twenty-first year. His first sermon was delivered at Bathgate, within a few miles of the place of his birth, on the Sabbath immediately after his license. His labours on the two succeeding days were in the congregation of Stirling, then under the pastoral charge of Dr. Smart, and was followed by a speedy call to be colleague of that excellent minister. This was the highest honour that could be put on any Secession preacher, since the congregation was one of the largest and most intelligent in the denomination, and had long been ministered to by Ebenezer Erskine, with whom its founders had withdrawn from the National Church. However, Mr. Brown had a still earlier call from the congregation of Biggar, in the Presbytery of Lanark; and the Synod which met in Edinburgh in September decided in favour of that congregation.

Six months elapsed between the decision of the Synod and Mr. Brown's settlement at Biggar. In October, 1805, he was sent to supply the Secession pulpit in London, where he made the acquaintance of Dr. Waugh, and was introduced to other circles in the Metropolis. On his return, as before, he ministered to various congregations till the date of his ordination. As a preacher he was universally acceptable. His appearance was prepossessing; he was in the bloom of youth; his locks were bushy and black as a raven; and his eye was lively and intelligent. He was tall, and in singular contrast to the clerical costume of the present day, dressed in light-coloured corded knee-breeches and Hessian boots, the Geneva gown and bands being in those days unknown in the Secession, and even the black coat not universal. When he began the service, his manner and tone were striking and solemn, and though at that

time he stood still as a statue, from the depth and appropriateness of his illustrations, he was very impressive. An interesting anecdote is given, as illustrative of the freedom of Mr. Brown's pulpit style from any such doctrinal errors as had been by some apprehended. A venerable man in a congregation not far from his native place had heard the whole of the Brown family preach through their successive generations. He went a long day's journey to hear another of the race. Being a great enemy of legal doctrine, he was somewhat startled when the text was announced. This was Micah vi. 8, being in truth the subject of one of Mr. Brown's Presbytery exercises, "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" He sat deeply interested both in the speaker, and in the development of the doctrine; and when all was ended, burst into tears, which he continued shedding for a good while. At length he spoke, "If there was a law text in all the Bible, it was that; but he has preached the sound gospel; for law doctrine was never in his blood."

The Secession congregation of Biggar, over which Mr. Brown was ordained on the 6th of February, 1806, was one of the oldest in the south of Scotland. His own father preached the ordination sermon, taking for his text, 1 Cor. i. 17. In August 1807, he married Miss Jane Nimmo, a lady of intelligence and piety, the daughter of a surgeon of eminence in Glasgow. The stream of prosperity continued to flow all the seventeen years of Mr. Brown's life at Biggar. A new place of worship, as well as a new residence for the minister, was erected; and so great was the impression produced, that many members of the Established Church, without leaving their own communion, took sittings and became frequent worshippers in the Secession Meeting-house.

As a minister, Mr. Brown bestowed his first care upon the pulpit. He had no sympathy with the opinion that the duties of the pastor are superior or even equal in importance to those of the public teacher of Christianity. At the commencement of his ministry his discourses were not without traces of a youthful pen, in the choice of his subjects, and adornment of his style. But very soon and completely he threw the best of his talents into the course of exegetical study, in which he latterly attained such undisputed eminence. This was the more remarkable, as at that time the science of interpretation was but little cultivated in the schools of Scottish theology.

In Mr. Brown's discourses there was always an exegetical groundwork, for he could not tolerate fanciful accommodations, superficial guesses, or edifying meanings put into texts rather than brought out of them. But the critical element was more under restraint, and sometimes did not appear where it might have been anticipated.

He was once called on to preach at Selkirk, during the sitting of the Divinity Hall, some six or seven years after his settlement in Biggar. The assembled students expected from his text, "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh," that he would enter deeply into the conflicting views taken of the passage, and elaborately decide between them. He surprised and perhaps disappointed his audience, by a rapid statement of his results, and a lengthened practical improvement of the subject. He gained, however, from Dr. Lawson the pithy enconium, "Mr. John, you have, I am glad to see, a way of getting at the kernel without breaking your teeth upon the shell."

Mr. Brown's nature, capable as it was of great, persistent, and indeed dogged labour, was, from the predominance of the nervous system in his organization, excitable, and therefore needed and relished excitement—the more intense the better. He found this in his keen political tastes, in imaginative literature, and in fiction. In the highest kind of poetry he enjoyed the sweet pain of tears. This refreshed, brightened, and diverted his mind from the strain of his incessant exegesis. He had no turn for gardening, or for fishing, or any field sports or games; his sensitive nature recoiled from inflicting pain, and above all, needless pain. He used to say the lower creation had groans enough, and needed no more burdens. Indeed, he was fierce to some measure of unfairness against such of his brethren—Dr. Wardlaw, for instance—as resembling the apostles in fishing for other things besides men. After a tight discussion on this subject between these two attached friends, Dr. Wardlaw said, "Well, I can't answer you, but fish I must and shall." The exercise in which Mr. Brown most delighted was riding. He generally kept well-bred ponies, and excelled in horsemanship. He was known all over the Upper Ward and down Tweed-dale for his riding. "There goes the minister," as he rode past at a swift canter. He used to tell with much relish how, one fine summer Sabbath evening after preaching in the open-air for a collection, in some village near, and having put the money, chiefly halfpence, into his handkerchief, and that into his hat, he was taking a smart gallop home across the moor, happy and relieved, when three ladies came suddenly upon him; off went the hat, down bent the head, and over him streamed the cherished collection, the ladies busy among the wild grass and heather picking it up, and he full of droll confusion and laughter.

He had an engagement to preach somewhere beyond the Clyde, on a Sabbath evening, and his friend Mr. Kello accompanied him on his big plough horse. It was to be in the open air, on the river side. When they got to the Clyde they found it in full flood, heavy and sudden rains at the head of the water having brought

it down in wild *spate*. On the opposite side were the gathered people and the tent. Before Mr. Kello knew where he was, there was his minister on the mare swimming across, and carried down in a long diagonal, the people looking on in terror. He landed, shook himself, and preached with his usual fervour. He never liked to speak of this bit of hardihood; but it was like the man —there were the people, that was what he would be at, and though timid for anticipated danger as any woman, *in* it he was without fear.

In Mr. Brown, the labour of the student and the exactness of the critic appeared in somewhat unusual combination with the ardour of the evangelist. He not only preached on the Lord's-day evenings, and during the week in barns and school-rooms, but also in the summer in the open-air. He selected for these occasions his best discourses, containing the fullest and plainest statement of the gospel. By these meetings, which were attended by great crowds, he disturbed the slumbers of the moderate clergy of the Establishment; and one of them in a virulent pamphlet denounced him as "a recruiting serjeant," whose only aim in these out-of-door assemblages was to gather adherents to the Secession standard. The charge was not only illiberal but unjust.

Among other pastoral duties Mr. Brown attended to the old "exercise of examination." This is now almost everywhere discontinued, but was a valuable usage of other days, assembling young and old annually, district by district, to be publicly catechised and exhorted by their minister. He also trained his people to liberality to the Missionary Societies, to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and to the cause of Education. He also established a minister's library in connection with his own congregation. This happy idea was, many years after, adopted by other congregations; and aided by grants from a fund, about one hundred and fifty ministers libraries have been instituted.

In 1815, Mr. Brown made his first appearance as an author, in a luminous treatise, entitled, *Strictures on Mr. Yate's Vindication of Unitarianism*. In the following year he aided in starting a monthly magazine—*The Christian Repository and Religious Register*, the editorship of which devolved upon him during the five years of its existence. His own miscellaneous contributions displayed a fulness of knowledge, and a vigour of judgment not surpassed by the highest periodical literature of that age. The same year he published a sermon preached before the Edinburgh Missionary Society, on *The Danger of opposing Christianity, and the Certainty of its final Triumph*. Also a volume of *Discourses suited to the administration of the Lord's Supper*. These excellent discourses are chiefly remarkable for disclaiming the efficacy sometimes vaguely ascribed to the Lord's Supper, as "a

sealing ordinance," limiting the "sealing" effect to the outward gospel truth which this ordinance confirms, without any affirmation, direct, or indirect, as to the state of the communicant.

In the midst of these varied labours Mr. Brown experienced a severe stroke of domestic calamity. His wife, to whom he was passionately attached, was brought by a lingering illness to an early grave. This excellent woman, long remembered for her sweet gentleness and wife-like government, died in his presence, confessing her Christian faith and hope, May 28, 1816. He returned from the grave of his wife, preached her funeral sermon; but from that time dates an entire alteration in his manner of preaching. As an illustration of his altered manner and matter of preaching an anecdote is preserved. He had been preaching when very young at Galashiels, and one wife said to her "neebor," "Jean, what think ye o' the lad?" "*It's maist o't tinsel wark,*" said Jean, neither relishing nor appreciating his fine sentiments and figures. After his wife's death he preached in the same place, and Jean, running to her friend, took the first word, "*It's a' gowd noo.*" Many years afterwards he published a memoir of his wife under the title—*A Tribute to the Memory of a very dear Christian Friend.*

From this time Mr. Brown turned his attention earnestly to the German exegetics. He began to dig into the depths, into the primary and auriferous rock of scripture, taking nothing at another's hand; and thus laid the foundation for that skill in sacred commentation for which he ultimately became so famous. He preached with more and more power, because with more and more knowledge and pureness; he became concentrated, urgent, moving—being himself moved—keen, searching, unswerving, authoritative, full of the terrors of the Lord, if he could but persuade men. Probably, at that time, no such lectures were delivered anywhere in Britain as he delivered to the Biggar audience. He gave himself so fully to his work that the people were sometimes frightened to think how wonderfully he preached.

In 1817, Mr. Brown published his *Remarks on the Plans and Publications of Robert Owen, Esq.* And in the following year he issued three discourses on the *Character, Duty, and Danger of those who forget God.* But the most valuable and interesting of his publications of this period was his treatise *On religion and the Means of its Attainment*, 1818; wherein he defines religion to be right thinking, right feeling, and right action towards God.

Mr. Brown was selected as the first deputy of the Synod to visit the Highlands, and to evangelize in their name. He afterwards published an interesting account of his missionary tour, under the title—*Notes on an Excursion into the Highlands of Scotland,*

1818; in which he urged on his denomination the continuance and extension of this system of itinerancy. He also gives a curious notice of his preaching to Highland audiences: "I was much pleased to learn that the people generally understood me. Some even of those least accustomed to the English language remarked, 'that they knew almost every word, for that minister does not preach grammar.' When a minister preaches in English so as they do not understand him, they say he preaches grammar." In September, 1818, Mr. Brown was chosen Moderator of the Synod to which he belonged; and on resigning his office in April following, he preached a sermon from Josh. xiii. 1, which was published under the title—*On the State of Scotland, in Reference to the Means of Instruction*, 1819. In the spring of 1819, Mr. Brown preached several times in London, and elsewhere in England, as one of a deputation from the Scottish Missionary Society. He was attended by the Rev. David Dickson, of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and others. They were much assisted by Mr. Wilberforce, and other leaders of the Christian world, and brought back £3000 of English gold to the Society which had sent them.

On his return from this excursion, in which he had borne a most effective part, Mr. Brown paid a visit to Leicester, in order to see Robert Hall. He heard him preach; and he also preached for him, delivering a sermon on the text, "And Barnabas was a good man," which he long afterwards, in three discourses, published under the title—*Barnabas, or the Christianly good Good Man.* Mr. Hall's reception of his visitor was highly characteristic. He immediately entangled him in a discussion concerning the Union between England and Scotland, in which he agreed with him as to the benefits it had conferred on both countries. In the course of conversation, Mr. Hall said, with extraordinary energy, "To die in the cause of Christianity is the highest honour that can befall any man. To die in the cause of civil liberty is the next." Probably it was in this interview that Mr. Hall propounded the oracular sentence, "A man of genius, Sir, may produce one sermon in the week; a person of average talent may compose two, but nobody but a fool, Sir, can write three." Mr. Brown, like every visitor, was impressed with the profound devotion of Mr. Hall's character.

At the time of the Union of the Burgher and the Anti-Burgher Synods in 1820, Mr. Brown, while cordially rejoicing in that event, and using his utmost influence to promote it, headed with his friend, Mr. Balmer, of Berwick, a small but influential party, who objected to some of the terms of the Union as too narrow, and as fitted to repress Christian liberty. In particular, without denying any doctrine of the Westminster Standards, they complained of their complicated and extensive nature as imposing too great a burden upon con-

science. They regretted the assertion of the formula of ordination, that the Presbyterian is "the only form of government" sanctioned in Scripture, as needlessly offensive to sister churches. They also refused to exalt a declaration as to the morality of covenanting, and as to the wisdom of the conduct of the Scottish Covenanters into a term of communion, with the fundamental articles of faith. The party had, however, to be satisfied with recording a protest. This protest is given in the appendix to the Memoir of Dr. Balmer, in the first volume of his *Academical Lectures and Pulpit Discourses*. In 1847, when the Secession Church was incorporated with the Relief, these grievances, with the exception of the first, were removed without dissent or resistance in any quarter.

In May, 1821, Mr. Brown preached in the Tabernacle, London, the Annual Sermon before the London Missionary Society. This sermon he afterwards published under the title—*On the Duty of Pecuniary contribution to Religious purposes*. It is one of the most complete and exhaustive discussions of this topic ever given to the world, and few of the sermons preached for that society during its lengthened career can be placed beside it for practical wisdom and scriptural eloquence.

In 1822, Mr. Brown received a call from the congregation of Rose Street, Edinburgh; his translation was ratified by the Synod, and the congregation to which he had so long ministered sorrowfully acquiesced. In advanced years his heart went back to the solitude where he had first learned to study deeply the word of God, and the scenes and associations of his youthful ministry.

Mr. Brown, in the full vigour of manhood, removed to Edinburgh, and entered upon a new and wider sphere of labour. The peculiar qualities of his style were recognised, and he passed at once across the limits of the Secession circle. His ministry underwent little change in its features, except the impulse which came from a large and eager congregation. The only aspect of novelty was the preponderance of discourses of a stern and awakening character, addressed with passionate earnestness to the unconverted, and delivered in the highest style of physical energy. His vehemence was scarcely less than that of Dr. Chalmers himself in these moments of excitement; and his appeals, seconded by the glance of the eye and the stamp of the foot, seemed to shake not only the auditory, but the very building in which they were uttered.

Besides his usual evangelistic efforts, Mr. Brown took part with other ministers of Edinburgh in a scheme for open-air preaching on the Lord's-day evenings during the summer months on Calton Hill. He selected for this field some of the most startling of his Biggar and Rose Street sermons, such as on the text, "Wherefore doth the wicked contemn God?" and the slopes and crags might at such times have been seen literally black with eager crowds

listening with mingled curiosity and awe to his vehement appeals and exhortations.

At the monthly lecture the church was crammed, passages and pulpit-stairs. Exact to a minute, James—the old soldier and beadle, slim, meek, but incorruptible by proffered half-crowns from ladies who tried to get in before the doors were opened—appeared, followed by the minister, erect and engrossed, and they struggled through the throng up to the pulpit. Of this old James, a humorous anecdote is related. A man on entering the church deposited the usual offering on the plate at the door. During the service he found that he had deposited a half-crown instead of a penny. On coming out he asked James to return him the half-crown he had given by mistake. "Na, Na," said James, "once in in for ever." "Aweel, aweel, then," said the man, "I shall get credit for it in heaven." "Na, na, that ye will not, ye'el only get the credit for the penny ye meant to gie."

In addition to his duties to his congregation, Mr. Brown devoted much of his time to the missionary and philanthropic institutions which either had their head quarters or their auxilaries in Edinburgh. At these, and similar institutions, he formed valuable friendships with Drs. Gray, Gordon, and Dickson, the Haldanes, Dr. Innes, and Christopher Anderson; Dr. Chalmers, Rev. Edward Craig, Sir Duncan Macgregor, John Campbell, Esq., Thomas Erskine, Esq., and James Douglass, Esq., of Cavers. He also had imposed on him the office of clerk to the Secession Presbytery, of Edinburgh.

One service which Mr. Brown rendered at this time to literature is worthy of special commemoration. The poet, Robert Pollok, had attended his ministry as a Secession student of divinity, and for the first time had essayed, as a licensed minister, to preach in his pulpit. Mr. Brown had all along recognised his genius, and when the shy and melancholy author of the *Course of Time*, already depressed by incipient consumption, confided to him the manuscript of that wonderful production, he not only cheered him with unbounded praise, but zealously negotiated with Mr. Blackwood for its publication, on terms which gave Pollok much satisfaction. He soothed with the tenderest sympathy every stage of descent of the poet to his early grave; and in conjunction with a friend, Dr. John Belfrage, of Slateford, made all those arrangements for his removal to a warmer climate—to Italy,—which death interrupted ere he left the shores of England.

J. A. B.

(To be concluded in our May number.)

ART. II.—THE ANALOGICAL ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF CHRISTIANITY.

No. II.

THE characteristic of probable evidence, when contrasted with demonstration, being "that it admits of degrees, and of all variety of them, from the highest moral certainty to the very lowest presumption," it is natural to suppose that there should be great diversity of opinion in regard to the argumentative value of analogy. With respect to demonstrative evidence, such difference is impossible. If the reasoning be understood, assent must be given to the conclusion to which it leads, because the opposite to it is an absurdity. But as the opposite to a proposition, resting upon probable evidence, is not necessarily absurd, and as the force of the probable evidence depends materially upon the attention which a person gives to it, and upon his previous studies and habits of thought, it is not to be wondered at that many persons of a mathematical turn of mind and unaccustomed to examine and weigh moral evidence, should considerably underrate its importance, and even think that "this mode of reasoning is essentially erroneous." Among those who admit its importance there is also great variety of opinion as to its value; some maintaining that its sole or chief use is for neutralizing objections to the doctrines of religion; others that, besides this service, it yields a certain amount of positive evidence in favour of religion, varying in strength, according to the number and clearness of the analogies, from a feeble presumption to moral certainty. It is, indeed, difficult to estimate the precise force of particular analogies, or to say "how far the extent, compass, and force of analogical reasoning can be reduced to general heads and rules, and the whole be formed into a system." Butler himself declines to enquire into the "measure of probability." Nor is it necessary, or even possible, to lay down a rule or canon, "so complete as to comprehend every variety of analogical reasoning, or so definite as to serve, like a mechanical rule, to determine every question." The validity of this kind of reasoning and its influence upon belief by no means depend upon this being done. In cases of real analogy it does not cease to be of weight, because those "who require things to be stated with greater exactness than our faculties admit of in practical matters, may find other cases in which it is not easy to say whether it be, or be not, of any weight; or instances of any seeming analogies, which are really of none." It is, however, possible to determine its general value, and to point out the uses to which it can be applied in relation to religion.

It is important to bear clearly in mind that human reason cannot by means of analogy, or, indeed, by any other means, discover or prove, *of itself*, the truths of revelation. The opposition which many eminent writers have raised to analogy as an evidence in favour of revelation, has arisen, in some measure, from jealousy of the encroachments of reason on the domain of revelation. Dr. Chalmers, in particular, was evidently unwilling to admit it to the rank of a positive proof of Christianity, from his anxiety to uphold the sufficiency of the direct historical evidences. This danger need not, however, be apprehended if the true relations of analogy to the leading proofs of the Christian religion be rightly understood. The miracles wrought by its founders, and the fulfilment in history of the predictions which they uttered, are the principal evidences of its divine origin. The supernatural truths which it proclaims must rest mainly upon those supernatural proofs by which their first promulgation was accompanied. Were they destitute of these proofs, their harmony with reason and experience would not be sufficient to accredit them; as the truth of an opinion or doctrine cannot be established simply by proving its analogy to what is known and certain. The planets resemble, in their motions and general characteristics, the world which we inhabit. This resemblance, however, though it suggests the probability of their being inhabited also, does not prove that they are. There may be differences, unknown to us, between them and the earth, which unfit them for being the habitations of sentient beings. Were we informed, however, by competent authority, that they are inhabited, analogy would then refute many objections which might be urged against this doctrine, and would also strongly confirm its truth. For instance, should any man maintain that it is impossible for them to be the abode of living beings, on account of their rotundity and rapid motions upon their axis and through space, the analogy of our planet would effectually refute these objections, inasmuch as it is inhabited, although it possesses the very properties upon which the objection is based. Now, analogy renders similar services to the teachings of revelation. It is beyond its province to demonstrate their truth; but it may be used for answering objections to them, and confirming the evidences upon which they rest.

The value of analogy as a weapon of defence cannot be too highly estimated. In turning aside and rendering harmless the blows which infidelity aims at religion it renders it the most important service. And by removing the objections which men raise against its evidences and doctrines, or showing that they do not rest upon a just foundation, it takes one of the greatest hindrances to conviction out of the way. "For one of the most formidable obstacles to the progress of truth consists in certain mental prepossessions or prejudicate opinions, which are often so strong as to prevent

inquiry, or to impart an unfavourable bias to the judgment before the subject is considered on its own merits." * If it can be shown that no valid objection can be raised against Christianity, then the positive evidences of its truth will have their full weight upon the mind.

In this way Butler cuts the ground from beneath the feet of the sceptic. His argument shows that the very principles which are objected to in Revelation are involved in man's daily experience, and that no man can object to the former *because it involves these principles*, while he acknowledges their existence in the latter, without being guilty of the grossest inconsistency; and that in opposing Christianity the sceptic urges objections which are of equal force against the laws of nature, and which, if true, would lead to atheism or universal scepticism. Directed against the Deists of his time, who believed in the existence of God and in his natural government over his creatures, but who denied the truths of Revelation, this argument proved that they could not logically rest in this intermediate position between christianity and atheism, since the objections they raised against christianity were, if admitted to be valid, as fatal to their theistic beliefs as to the doctrines of revealed religion.

Deism, at the very outset, denies the possibility of a revelation of truth attested by miracles. The Deist believes, however, in a revelation of God to man through the medium of nature and conscience. But if it is impossible for God to reveal to men in the Bible his will in relation to salvation, how is it possible for him to reveal his being and attributes through nature? A natural revelation from him is beset with the same difficulties as a supernatural revelation. If God can reveal himself by natural signs in his works, surely he can reveal himself by those signs in which men communicate their thoughts to their fellow-men. The means may differ, but in both there is a *revelation* of himself and his will. But the Deist chiefly objects to the Bible because it claims to be supernaturally given and miraculously attested. On the principles of deism, however, a supernatural revelation cannot be justly held to be incredible; for if the existence of God be admitted, then all things are possible to him. And how can he who believes in the greatest of all miracles —the miracle of creation at the commencement of the present order of nature—deny the possibility of any other miracle? If God cannot reveal himself miraculously to man, how could he place him upon the earth at the beginning, for a new power was then exercised different from the ordinary laws of nature? It is therefore "a mere question of fact, whether this power stopped at once, or went on and gave mankind a revelation."

Infidelity objects also to the doctrine of future punishment on the

* Buchanan.

grounds of its supposed inconsistency with the character of God. But the analogy of this life, in which God, as the ruler of nature, punishes vice, both in the way of natural consequence and positive infliction, neutralizes this objection. It is not necessarily inconsistent with the goodness of God. And if men reject the Bible on account of this difficulty, they must deny for the same reason that nature is the work of God. The doctrine of the atonement of Christ is likewise objected to, because it is regarded as incompatible with men's notions of the Divine justice and goodness for the innocent to suffer for the guilty. But is not the vicarious principle exemplified in history and in daily life? Innocent children suffer in circumstances, reputation, and health, for the sins of their parents. In numerous instances providence causes persons to suffer and even die, that their fellow men may be benefitted and saved. The most precious of our national liberties and privileges have been won by the tears and blood of the good and noble. Seeing then that all this vicarious suffering actually takes place under the natural government of God, how can men, who believe in this government, consistently reject the doctrine of the Christian atonement because of the vicarious principle which it involves?

But it may be replied, "you do not remove the difficulties of Revelation, but only extend them to nature by this way of reasoning. What we want is to have these difficulties cleared." Now, the argument from analogy is not designed, nor competent to explain the difficulties connected with religion. Indeed, this is a task, which for the most part is beyond the capacity of the human mind. "For this is, or at least, for any thing we know to the contrary, it may be the same, as requiring to comprehend the divine nature and the whole plan of providence from everlasting to everlasting.*" God's scheme of providence, both natural and revealed, must of necessity be imperfectly comprehended by our finite minds. The existence of difficulties in the Bible is therefore no argument against its truth, but on the contrary a presumption in its favour; as from the fact of their having the same author, we might justly expect similar difficulties in the volumes of nature and revelation. A great result is, however, achieved by this argument, since it shows that the objections of infidelity to the Bible have no peculiar force against it, but apply equally against nature and providence, and that those who make them, "if they are not confused themselves, deal unfairly with others, in making it seem that they are arguing only against revelation, or particular doctrines of it, when in reality they are arguing against moral providence: it is a thing of consequence to show that such objections are as much levelled against natural religion

* Butler.

as against revealed. And objections, which are equally applicable to both, are properly speaking answered, by its being shown that they are so, provided the former be admitted to be true."*

But the analogical argument is not only capable of repelling objections to christianity, it also yields a certain amount of positive evidence in favour of it. Its value in this respect has, however, been regarded as very small by many eminent writers. "Analogical evidence," says Dr. Campbell, "is generally more successful in silencing objections than in evincing the truth. Though it rarely refutes, it frequently repels refutation; like those weapons which, though they cannot kill the enemy, will ward his blows * * * It must be allowed that analogical coincidence is at best but a feeble support, and is hardly ever honoured with the name of a proof." Dr. Chalmers speaks in high terms of its value as a defensive weapon, but regards it as of very little service for positive proof. "It appears to us," he says, "that they overrate the power of analogy who look to it for any distinct or positive contribution to the Christian argument." And yet, referring to those analogies which point towards a future state of retribution, he says, "it is to be observed that the considerations in which Butler here deals are such as *not merely serve to annul objections* but to make out *substantive proof in favour* of his doctrine.

This low estimate of the value of analogy arose from the arbitrary limitation of this term to partial and remote resemblances between different species, those more exact likenesses which exist between individuals of the same species, being ranked under the head of experience. These latter, however, ought also to be referred to analogy; for when we reason not only from the past to the future, but from one thing to another, it is from a principle in our nature different from experience. "The evidence of experience reaches no further than anticipation of the future from the past, in instances where the same cause operates in circumstances exactly similar." But whenever we reason from one thing to another, which, in its external marks, bears a certain degree of resemblance to it, our reasoning is analogical. Let analogy be understood to comprehend resemblances of all kinds, the more exact as well as the more partial, and it will be manifest that it will, in some cases, especially where there is a concurrence of analogies, create a probability, amounting almost to inductive certainty. "In some cases," says Dugald Stewart, "the probability resulting from a concurrence of different analogies may rise so high as to produce an effect on the belief scarcely distinguishable from moral certainty."

Moreover, it is overlooked by those who hold that analogy is of value only for answering objections, that its power to do this arises

* Butler.

from the *resemblance* of the disputed truth to some admitted truth, and that its force is proportionate to the fulness of the resemblance. There is a principle common to both which may not only be used for annulling objections, but which yields a measure of evidence in favour of the inferences from one to the other. Its defensive power rests therefore upon that which, according to Butler, constitutes probability. "For when," he says, "we determine a thing to be probably true, suppose that an event has or will come to pass, it is from the mind's remarking in it a likeness to some other event which we have observed has come to pass, And this observation forms, in numberless daily instances, a presumption, opinion, or full conviction, that such an event has or will come to pass; according as the observation is, that the like event has sometimes, most commonly, or always, as far as observation reaches, come to pass at like distances of time, place, or upon like occasions." If then resemblance begets, in secular matters, a presumption, opinion, or full conviction, of the truth of an event or fact, why should it not produce a like effect in matters of religion? The mind judges according to the same law in both cases. And this is, in fact, the effect which the perception of likeness between nature and revelation is fitted to produce upon men of reflecting and unprejudiced minds. Let such men compare the facts of nature with the doctrines of the Bible before they examine the direct evidences of the latter, and they will be strongly prepossessed in their favour, if not convinced of their truth, by seeing the familiar principles of experience exemplified in them. Or, let them, after an examination of the peculiar truths of revelation, compare its contents with the teachings of nature—what God has said with what God has done—and the striking analogies between the two will deepen their conviction that the author of nature is also the author of the Bible.

It is in its cumulative form that this argument exerts the greatest influence upon the mind. The likeness of particular doctrines of Christianity to the facts of nature yields a presumption in their favour, but the harmony of the system, as a whole, with the system of nature is a most powerful argument for its divine authority, and *indirectly* for the truth of the particular doctrines which it contains. One harmonious plan runs through both; so that the man who has been accustomed to observe the marks of divine wisdom and goodness in nature perceives those attributes working in revelation, by the same laws and for similar ends. "There is," says Stewart, "a certain character or *style* (if I may use the expression) in the operations of divine wisdom—something which everywhere announces, amidst an infinite variety of detail, an inimitable unity and harmony of design." Here then are two dispensations of things—the one relating to men's temporal, the

other to their eternal interest, traceable to the same general laws and carried on according to the same plans. Is it not, therefore, fairly presumable that both proceed from one and the same author? In this cumulative application of analogy, we think the greatest strength and force of Butler's argument lies. By applying it to particular doctrines of the Bible, he removes objections to them, and creates a strong presumption of their truth; but by showing that Christianity, as a whole, is "analogous to, and of a piece with," the dispensation of Providence, which we are under as inhabitants of this world, in its plans, and laws, and aims; that the volume of Scripture so strikingly resembles, in its general characteristics, the volume of nature; he almost irresistibly proves their common origin, that as nature is the work, Scripture is the word, of God.

It is evident, then, that analogy may be used for proving the truth of Christianity, as well as for replying to objections against it. There is, however, a great difference between the negative and positive applications of this kind of evidence. In refuting objections, it is generally irresistibly convincing; it is in this view of it that Whately affirms that the arguments from analogy for the truth of Christianity are the most unanswerable.* But when employed as a medium of proof, it is unable to *demonstrate* the truth of the doctrine to which it is applied; a great probability is all that it can reach, and this for the simple reason that it is impossible, under any condition, to infer the unobserved from the observed, the whole from any proportion of the parts, in the way of rational necessity."† Let it be observed, however, that probability, in the philosophical sense of the term, is not opposed to that which is certain, as it is in its popular use, but to that which is *demonstrable* on mathematical principles. It does not necessarily imply doubt and uncertainty; but marks only the particular nature of the proof. Probability rises in many cases to the highest moral certainty. "In this sense all inductive conclusions, however rigorous the process by which they may have been reached, and however conclusive the evidence by which they have been established, fall to be ranked (most inconveniently, as we think) among probable truths; but that philosophical expression is entirely misunderstood, if it be interpreted in the *popular* sense, as signifying conclusions resting on insufficient or defective evidence."‡ It is, nevertheless, difficult to lay down criteria for ascertaining the certainty of propositions resting upon this evidence of analogy. This does not, however, affect their truth, since the case is the same in relation to all kinds of moral evidence, whether arising from experience, testimony, or induction; but this is never held to afford ground for doubting the truth of the conclusions to which they lead. Sir William Hamilton gives the following general rules for ascertaining the certainty of

* Rhetoric, page 32. † Sir William Hamilton. ‡ Buchanan.

this kind of proof:—"Analogy is certain in proportion, 1st, to the number of congruent observations; 2nd, to the number of congruent characters observed; 3rd, to the importance of these characters, and their essentiality to the objects; and 4th, to the certainty that the characters really belong to the objects, and that a partial correspondence exists."* That is, the likelihood of an opinion on doctrine being true is in proportion to the number and essentiality of the points in which it is seen to resemble some admitted truth or fact.

Many objections to this argument have been answered in this paper, but there are some of such importance as to require separate consideration.

1. Some object that in matters relating to our eternal interests we ought to have something more than probability for our guide; that it is irrational to act in relation to concerns so important upon anything less than demonstrative certainty. But though analogical evidence is not sufficient to satisfy the speculative reason, it ought to suffice for the regulation of our faith and practice. For God has not vouchsafed us any higher evidence for the management of our secular concerns. Were men to demand absolute certainty of the success of every undertaking before they engaged in it, they would neither plant nor sow, nor embark in any worldly business. Men have to launch their bark upon the ocean of life without being certain that they will escape disaster or shipwreck. The very circumstances of their earthly condition compel them to act on probabilities, and often to engage in enterprises around which there is more darkness than there is upon the path to heaven which the Bible points out to us. "Yet men do not throw away life, or disregard the interests of it upon account of this doubtfulness. The evidence of religion, then, being admitted real, those who object against it as not satisfactory, *i.e.*, not being what they wish it, plainly forget the very condition of our being; for satisfaction in this sense does not belong to such a creature as man. And, which is more material, they forget also the very nature of religion. For religion presupposes in all those who will embrace it a certain degree of integrity and honesty, which it was intended to try whether men have or not, and to exercise in such as have it, in order to its improvement."† If men are without humility and an honest desire to know the truth, no evidence will satisfy them; but if they are sensible of their ignorance and anxious for Divine guidance, they will gladly welcome any light from heaven. It does not become us to reject the evidence which God has granted because it is not such as we desire. We ought to use the lights we have, however faintly they may shine, if they are only true ones. "If a man," says Butler in his sermon upon the igno-

* Lectures on Logic, vol. 2, page 172. † Analogy, pages 315 and 316.

rance of man, "were to walk by twilight, must he not follow his eyes as much as if it were broad day and clear sunshine? Or if he were obliged to take a journey by night, would he not *give heed* to any *light shining in the darkness, till the day should break and the daystar arise?*" It would just be as foolish then for a man to refuse to walk by the light which God vouchsafed unto him for his guidance to heaven because it is not as bright as he desires, as it would be for a man to refuse to guide himself by the light of the moon and stars because the sun was not shining upon his path.

2. Another objection to Butler's argument is that, even if its validity be admitted, the unbeliever is not obliged to accept either natural or revealed religion, since the alternative of atheism is open to him. Pitt, in a conversation with Wilberforce, said that Butler's work raised more doubts in his mind than it settled; and Professor Sedgwick tells of a man of learning and of a severely logical mind, who, having been in early life a Deist, but being little satisfied with his belief, studied Butler's Analogy; and finding, during his study, the same, or analogous difficulties, in natural and revealed religion, rejected them both, and became through the rest of his life an unflinching Atheist. Another writer says, "I consider the 'Analogy' of Bishop Butler (one of the profoundest of thinkers, and, on purely moral subjects, one of the justest too) as containing, with a design directly contrary, the most terrible persuasives to Atheism that have ever been produced." But it may be asked is this the legitimate effect of Butler's work? and, if not, what has led some men to entertain this opinion of its tendency, and why does it produce such an effect upon certain minds as to drive them to Atheism? It is not because the analogies between nature and revelation, which he cites, can be disputed; nor because any flaw in his reasoning can be detected. This effect is, we unhesitatingly affirm, due to the mental and moral condition of those in whom it is produced; in some, because they demand explanations of questions which revelation is not designed to solve; in others, from the latent aversion of their minds to the solemn truths, in relation to moral law and government, with which Butler deals. Oppressed by the difficulties which they find in nature as well as revelation, or awakened to a sense of personal guilt, they try to get clear of their perplexities and fears by denying the existence of an Author of nature and a moral Governor of the world. For, in the words of Isaac Taylor, "Unbelief within the pale of Christianity never fails to become Atheistic."

But if Atheism is the *only* alternative which Butler has left open, it is because he has purposely refrained from dealing with it. He could have used the argument from analogy just as effectually for making the Atheistic position untenable, as for

driving men out of every intermediate position between it and Christianity. But as it was not directed against Atheists, it does not attempt to prove the existence of God, but takes this truth for granted. "My design," he says, "is to apply it (that is analogy) to religion in general, both natural and revealed,—taking for proved that there is an intelligent Author of nature, and natural Governor of the world. For as there is no presumption against this, prior to the proof of it, so it has been often proved with accumulated evidence—from this argument of *analogy and final causes*, from abstract reasonings, from the most ancient traditions and testimony, and from the general consent of mankind. Nor does it appear, so far as I can find, to be denied by the generality of those who profess themselves dissatisfied with the evidence of religion." The design-argument of Paley, which, though it does not demonstrate the existence of a *Supreme Creator of Nature*, proves that it must have an *Intelligent Dispenser and Governor*, is based upon analogy. Finding a certain order and adaption in nature, which indicate design, it, by interpreting these signs according to the analogy of man's experience, demonstrates the existence of an intelligent designer of nature.

3. But it is objected further that this entire method of reasoning from analogy is uncertain and precarious, because of the numerous fallacies to which it has led. An intelligent friend of mine has, in a communication to me, stated this objection in the following form:—

1.—"We admit, with Butler, this argument may produce presumption or even full conviction; but the main enquiry ought to be, is it a *true conviction* to which it leads us? Analogy, even after a long period of observation, led to the conviction that the earth was a flat plane; a false conviction from which the analogical argument was powerless to protect those who used no other and more exact method of reasoning.

2.—The argument proves too much; for instance, if carried forward, it not only leads to the conclusion *that the sun will rise to-morrow* and that the *tide will ebb and flow*, but also that they will do so next year, next century, next cycle of ages, and so on for ever. And again, we may carry it retrospectively, and conclude that they have done so in the past, and backward infinitely, thus overturning the historical fact of a creation.

3.—That an argument from analogy either leads to *no conclusion* or a *false one*, is, we think, shown by the following method of testing the principle of the argument in connection with probable events.

The series of events respecting which we argue by analogy must be either infinite or finite. If the series be *infinite*, then no amount of observation in the past of the occurrence of the event

(the rising of the sun for instance) can give us any more probability that it will rise to-morrow. If the series, on the other hand be *finite*, then the probability that it will occur again is decreasing every day. So that, while analogy leads us to conclude that, as the sun has been observed to rise and set for thousands of years, we have a *full conviction* that it will rise to-morrow, the real fact is, it is becoming less probable every day that the sun will rise again."

These objections, however, though very ingeniously put, do not prove that the principle of analogy is false, but that we must carefully discriminate between true and false analogies, as we have to distinguish true from false testimonies, and true from false reasonings; and that analogy must not be pushed beyond the range of its legitimate application by deducing more from it than the matters to which it is applied will warrant. By no use of analogy can contingent be converted into necessary truth. This remark applies to the statement that this argument, if carried out, would prove that the constitution and course of nature have been the same from eternity, and will continue the same for ever. Analogy does not warrant us in believing that the order of nature will never be interrupted. Other causes of which we are ignorant may come into operation to alter its course; or, it may be altered and terminated by the fiat of the Supreme Ruler. This principle warrants nothing more than a reasonable expectation of its continuance sufficient to encourage men to attend to the business of life. But in relation to the moral government of God analogy proceeds on firmer ground, since its conclusions are based upon belief in the continued operation of laws, which do not depend, like the laws of nature, upon the *will* of God, but which spring from his *nature*, and are therefore as much unchangeable as God himself. As bearing on this point, I have much pleasure in quoting the following excellent remarks from Dr. Young's work, entitled, "The Light and Life of Men." In his chapter on "Spiritual Laws," he says, "The course of nature in the past is ascertainable within certain limits. So far as observation can reach, in all the various departments, we are able to discover invariable sequence; and it is perfectly reasonable to presume that what has thus been, will indefinitely continue to be. That is the presumption, a most legitimate presumption; that is the probability, a high and strong probability. But to maintain that what has been, must be, and cannot but be; in other words, to convert a presumption, a probability into a necessity, the contrary of which would be impossible, is a gross error. Manifestly the premises do not sustain the conclusion, the reasoning is false at the root. What has been is a certainty, but it is no whit less clear that what shall be cannot, to us, be absolutely certain. No amount of experience in the past can render a

divergence from the hitherto observed order, however improbable, either contradictory or impossible—impossible, that is to say, in the nature of things. * * * Credulity, ignorant, indiscriminating reception of what contradicts ordinary experience, is a culpable weakness; but illogical, arrogant, almost fanatical devotion to the idea of necessity in the order of nature is more criminal still, if not more weak.

The laws of the material universe are infinitely wise and good, but they are not in themselves necessary and immutable, even as they are not eternal. It is far otherwise, it is diametrically the reverse, with the great laws of the spiritual universe. They are what they are of themselves, of necessity. Moral good and moral evil are immutable, and never were and never can be other than they are in the slightest degree."

The analogical argument is, then, a most valuable auxiliary to the other defences of religion. We do not give it a foremost place among the evidences of religion, but we regard it as a powerful support. Hence, when we tell the towers and count the bulwarks of Zion, it ought not to be passed over. And this kind of evidence will gain in strength as nature becomes better understood and Biblical interpretation improves. New points of agreement between the Bible and nature will be discerned, and old ones will appear in a clearer and more convincing light. By the increase of knowledge many of our presumptions will be converted into full convictions. The analogical principle is capable of a more extensive application than Butler has made of it, and may be applied to many other disputed questions than those which arise between the Deist and the Christian. It is, therefore, of greater importance to Butler's principle than his illustrations of it; for if this be clearly understood and firmly grasped, we may modify, or even reject, some of his illustrations, and discover resemblances between nature and the Bible which Butler has not named, and apply it to questions which he has not raised. It may be used just as effectively to refute the objections of the unbelief of this day as Butler used it against those of the Deists of his time.

For the defence and illustration of Bible truth, and also for its right exposition and enforcement, seeing that it is cast, to a great extent, in the frame of analogy, the study of this subject is of the greatest value. While nothing need be said of the benefit, in the way of intellectual discipline and stimulus, to be derived from the thoughtful perusal of a writer who has been described by a high authority as "one to whose deep sayings no thoughtful mind was ever yet introduced for the first time without acknowledging the period as an epoch in its intellectual history."

JOHN WATSON.

ART. III.—THE BEST MODE OF CONDUCTING PUBLIC WORSHIP.

An Essay read to the Members of the London District Association of Primitive Methodist Ministers.

GOOD etymologists tell us that the word "worship" is composed of the noun "worth" and the suffix "ship," forming worthship; which being contracted we have worship. As the title "your lordship" is addressed to one who sustains the dignity of a lord, so the title "your worship" is given to one who possesses conventional worth. The verb "to worship," accordingly signifies to ascribe worth. John describes an act of worship when he represents the elders falling down before the throne and saying, "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power."

Man is a creature with religious capacity and religious feelings. Priests, altars, idols, sacrifices, pilgrimages, temples, churches, are products of these feelings. Man will worship, and the social nature he possesses craves fellowship even in his most religious moods. The full meaning, measure, and influence of worship are not realised until voices mingle and hearts unite. Public worship is not an arbitrary custom, but a necessity.

It is of great importance that public worship be properly conducted. If it be improperly managed, injury will be inflicted on the worshippers, and religion will suffer.

Sometimes we speak of one part of the public service as being of more importance than another, but it were perhaps unnecessary to distinguish where all is important. All the parts of public worship demand reverential treatment. Nothing must be flippantly or slovenly performed in God's House. Our very best must be laid on the Altar of the Sanctuary.

We shall now touch upon our religious exercises in the order they usually occupy in our meetings for divine worship.

SINGING OR PRAISE:—All creation praises God. The notes of the birds on a bright spring morning are a sweet hymn of praise to their maker. The fragrance of the flowers is as incense ascending up to heaven. The sweet murmur of the wind through the rustling trees; the sunshine which bathes cottage and field, highway and lane in a flood of glory; the dimpling smile of many-hued ocean; the ceaseless hum of the insect world in the summer air, all these are the praises of God's creatures ascending to his throne, thanking Him for having made this world of beauty and joy. Shall man alone be silent? No. "O come, let us sing unto the

Lord; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation." "Serve the Lord with gladness; come before his presence with singing." Ps. xcv. 1.—c. 2.

Praise and prayer are the principal elements of worship. Of these two, praise is the very highest exercise of the religious soul. Whenever the soul bursts out in sincere and humble praise, there is given the most perfect expression of all that is purest and noblest in our religious nature. Praise finds at once its natural and highest utterance in song.

The hymn should be given out by the conductor of the service in a clear, distinct, and emphatic manner. When the congregation is well supplied with hymn-books, we recommend that a whole verse be given out at once, as the singing of two lines only sometimes interferes with the harmony and sense. Good and well-known tunes should be used; the tune according with the character of the sentiments expressed in the hymn. The minister should always stand, and when able, sing with his congregation.

Every possible effort must be made to secure congregational singing. Choirs may be useful but should be composed of religious persons who sing with the spirit and with the understanding also, and who feel that their office is not to display professional skill but to lead the people devotionally in the service of song.

It would be well if the first hymn contained a direct description of praise to the Deity, or a thanksgiving for the institution of the Lord's-day, or a prayer for divine assistance. The other hymns should be connected, in the thoughts expressed therein, with the sermon.

PRAYER.—We fear this exercise does not always obtain from us the careful and reverent thoughtfulness it so well deserves. We have been pained at times to hear the Lord's Prayer, that beautiful form of petition hurried over in a shameful style. Is it not a solemn thing to lead the devotions of a congregation? Does not the christian minister occupy a position of great responsibility as he intercedes for the people? What need for prudence, spirituality, charity and faith! Our prayers are often wearisome and destructive of devotion, much too long; often mere preaching to the people, or telling God all manner of things that have no relationship to our circumstances. These and other considerations have led many to prefer a liturgy. This is not our remedy. Dean Close, at the meeting of the Church Association held in London last May, laid much stress on the fact that extemporaneous prayer was lawful, both before and after the sermon. Is it not strange that while many Episcopalians sigh for relief from set forms of prayer, there are some dissenters who appear very anxious to wear the yoke? But however good the printed prayers may be they cease in course of time to be either suitable or stirring. Let the

prayer have attention as well as the sermon. Let the prayers contained in the Book of Psalms have that thoughtful consideration they deserve. Let us seek out acceptable words and order our cause before God. Let us carefully consult the circumstances of the people so that in our approach to the divine throne we may lead the congregation nearer God, and awaken in them heavenward aspirations.

The posture at prayer deserves attention. Posture has something to do with worship. An unsuitable posture will tend to distraction of mind; a reverent posture will conduce to devotion. The whole man must worship—the body as well as the soul. Both come from God, and both depend on him. It is but reasonable that in worship we should render suitable outward reverence to the Divine Being. We give outward marks of respect to earthly dignitaries; shall we not much more bend before the King of Heaven? A devout posture in prayer is just homage to our Maker; assists the soul in her holy work, and exercises a beneficial influence on those who congregate with us. Let us not be too much afraid of ritualism. Common sense and scripture will keep us within due limits. We are thus invited to adore the Almighty by the psalmist—"O come, let us worship and bow down: let us kneel before the Lord our Maker," Ps. xcv. 6. We have also many scripture examples to guide us. Solomon knelt at the dedication of the temple, 1 Kings viii. 54; 2 Chr. vi. 13. Ezra, at the time of the evening sacrifice, fell on his knees and prayed, Ezra ix. 5. Daniel prayed daily on his knees towards Jerusalem, Dan. vi. 10. The Saviour knelt in the garden, when being in agony he prayed, Luke xxii. 41. Stephen's last prayer was offered on his knees, Acts vii. 60. Peter kneeled down and prayed by the side of the dead body of Tabitha, Acts. ix. 40. Paul, ere he parted with the Ephesian elders at Miletus, "kneeled down and prayed with them all," Acts xx. 36. Convenience should be made in our pews so that without difficulty our people might kneel, and the minister should, whenever circumstances will admit, lead the devotions of the people on his knees.

When the position of preacher and people is such that they cannot conveniently kneel, it would be well to stand while addressing the Deity. The Jews frequently used this posture. The great Teacher, in his parable of the Pharisee and the publican, represents them as standing in prayer, Luke xviii. 11, 13. He also alludes to this custom when exhorting men to forgive those who had offended them, Mark xi. 25.

READING THE SCRIPTURES:—We fear sufficient attention is not paid to this part of our public worship. Good and important instruction is given to the ministers of the Episcopal Church in the rubric of their Liturgy, where it is directed that every officiating minister shall read the appointed lessons "with an audible voice, so standing

and turning themselves as they may best be heard of all such as are present," and in the admonition to ministers, prefixed to the Book of Homilies, they are required "to read the sacred Scriptures aptly, plainly, and distinctly." Yet a writer in one of our respectable magazines said, not long ago, "The fact is, and, however mortifying, it ought to be told, that very few of the English clergy know how to read." It is of great importance that the Scriptures be read in a correct and distinct manner. There should be variety in the Scripture lessons read to the same congregation, so that in course of time all parts of the Word suited to mixed assemblies may be read. It would be well that the Scripture lesson should have some connection in general meaning with the subject of the sermon to follow.

A certain number of verses should not be read merely because they make up a chapter. We would suggest that sometimes the lesson should be confined to a paragraph, or other select portions of the Word. Then there would be time for a few explanatory and practical remarks. Wordy, and long-drawn-out exposition must be avoided, or the mistake of preaching two sermons during one service may be committed. The brief lesson has this advantage, it is calculated to produce a definite impression, and is well suited for week-night services. There is not that need now as formerly for lengthy lessons. It was customary to read three or four chapters. Bibles, thank God, are cheap and numerous in our day, and religious services are much more frequent. We do not think it is well to dispense altogether with the reading of God's Word at the week-evening service, as some ministers do.

PREACHING:—Many complaints have been made during the last few years by certain newspaper critics, concerning the inefficiency of the pulpit. The manner, and the matter of modern discourses have alike been held up to contempt. The modern sermon has been pronounced a bore. We are not disposed to join in this indiscriminate cry. That there is some justice in the complaints made we admit. But we fear that in many cases the critics who so readily protrude their opinions are ill-qualified to judge as to what is efficient preaching. They may be able to apply intellectual tests. But a man must be spiritually minded, and understand the true end of the gospel ministry before he can be duly qualified to pronounce an opinion. "The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."—1 Cor iii. 9.

Much of the adverse criticism referred to has been levelled against the Episcopal pulpit. Dr. Burt, who lately visited England, says, in a letter in one of the American papers dated, Sept. 3rd, 1870, "Most of the pulpit celebrities of London belong to Dissenting churches. It would be unjust to say that a general paralysis has fallen on the pulpit of the Establishment, yet beyond

question, most of the preaching in the Established Churches is deplorably tame and feeble."

We have no doubt that the practice of reading the sermon has greatly contributed to bring about this sad state of things; and on the other hand, we doubt not that the success of the Dissenting churches is to be greatly attributed to their earnest, manly, extemporaneous preaching. The interest of our services is intimately connected with the freely delivered discourse.

The sermon should contain interesting matter, and be delivered with animation. Dullness and dryness must be avoided. Dr. McKnight, the celebrated expositor, though intellectually gifted, had a repute for dryness in the pulpit. One day he was drenched by a shower in going to church. In the vestry, and before the service began, the attendants were doing all in their power to make him comfortable by rubbing him with towels, and other appliances. The good man was ever and anon exclaiming, "Oh, I wish that I was dry!" and repeating often, "Do you think I am dry eneuch now?" Dr. Henry, his colleague, who was present, was a jocose man, of much quiet humour. He patted the Doctor on the shoulder, with the encouraging remark, "Bide a wee, Doctor; bide a wee, and ye'll be dry eneuch when ye get into the pulpit." Wherever else we are dull, let us not be so in the pulpit. Let the intellect and heart be wholly and earnestly thrown into the work of instructing men, and beseeching them to be reconciled to God.

As Dissenters we have often been reproached with giving undue prominence to the sermon in public worship. There is doubtless some truth in this accusation, though we think it would be more correct to say, not that too much importance has been attached to the preaching of the Word, but that in many instances we have failed to give prayer and praise that attention they deserve.

If we have erred on one side, the Episcopalians have erred on the other. On account of the length of other parts of the service, and to propitiate those who complained of the wearisome nature of their pulpit efforts, they have compressed the sermon into a quarter of an hour. The other day, two farmers of different parishes were overheard disputing about the respective preaching merits of their clergymen. One contended that his parson was the best preacher because he could preach a sermon in a quarter of an hour; to which the other farmer replied, "But our man can get through it in ten minutes, therefore he must be the best preacher." Cowper's words, it would seem, have a point and meaning in our day:—

> "The things that mount the rostrum with a skip,
> And then skip down again; pronounce a text,
> Cry, hem! and reading what they never wrote,—

> Just fifteen minutes, huddle up their work,
> And with a well-bred whisper close the scene."

Such preaching is solemn trifling, and may please the formalist, but will fail to accomplish the great end of the gospel ministry—the conversion of immortal souls.

Much has been said about the proper length of the sermon. It should rarely, we think, stretch beyond forty minutes.

It would add to the interest and profit of public worship if the expository style of preaching were revived and made to occupy a more prominent place in our public ministrations. It is especially suitable for morning service on the Lord's Day, and occasionally might be used at the week-evening meeting. This kind of preaching is very ancient. See the eighth chapter of Nehemiah, where we have an account of Ezra's ministry to the returned Jews. In the early days of Christianity this kind of preaching was generally employed. Justin Martyr writes, "On the day which is called Sunday all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits. Then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things." Expository preaching tends to secure a proportionate exhibition of truth and promotes a larger acquaintance with Scripture.

The sermon should by no means be made an occasion for displaying the parts of the preacher, but should be used to reveal God's mind, to build up the believer in the most holy faith, to awaken the sleeping sinner, and thus stir up in all who hear true devotional feeling.

As to the length of time the entire service should occupy, we cannot do better than refer you to our connexional regulations on that matter, found in the Consolidated Minutes.

The grand end or purpose of public worship is the Divine glory. Worship is suitable to the creature and due to the Creator—"Let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee." (Ps. 67., 3.)

By public worship the spiritual cultivation of the soul is promoted. As christians join in the high praises of God their souls approach nearer and yet nearer in sympathy and feeling with the blood-washed throng above. As together they bend before their heavenly father, they cannot fail to draw yet closer to each other in brotherly feeling. As with faith they listen to the word read and spoken, they are satisfied with living bread and drink the water of life.

We may venture to say that to the exercises of public worship, under the Divine blessing, the Church of Christ owes its existence and continuance. Blot the Lord's Day out of the calendar and

christian congregations would be broken up. Discontinue public worship, and religion dies.

Brethren! Fellow labourers in the gospel! as we consider the spiritual necessities of the people; as we remember our responsibility as conductors of public worship; as we feel conscious of ignorance and weakness in our high and holy vocation, may we not exclaim, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' Nevertheless let us not forget 'our sufficiency is of God; who also hath made us able ministers of the new testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.' 'The spirit giveth life.' 'Life,' is what we want in our singing, in our praying, in our reading of the Holy Scriptures and in our preaching. Ours is the ministration of the 'spirit.' Let us look up to heaven and implore a richer baptism, that being full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, we may approve ourselves unto the people as good and faithful ministers of the New Covenant. Then having received the holy anointing we shall be clothed with power from on high. Our services will be accepted. Elijah's God will hear our cries and answer by fire. Believers shall be sanctified. Hard hearts shall be melted, and as the holy tide of divine influence falls on our congregations the people shall say with rapture, 'Lord, it is good to be here.' 'This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.'

THOS. J. PENROSE.

ART. IV.—FORENAMES AND SURNAMES.

An Essay on Family Nomenclature—Historical, Etymological, and Humorous. By MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A. 2 vols, 3rd edition, 1859.

Essai Historique et Philosophique sur les Noms D'Hommes, de Peuples et de Lieux par Eusebe Salverte.—Paris.

Ludus Patronymicus; or the Etymology of Curious Surnames. By RICHARD STEPHEN CHARNOCK, Ph. Dr., F.S.A., etc.—London, 1868.

THE consideration of the names of men will conduct us along one of the by-paths of the science of language, a by-path which traverses a good deal of ground that by right belongs to the more sequestered parts of history. It may appear to savour of presumption to claim for our discursive gossiping paper any connection whatever with the science of language or with any other science;

but philology itself will not repudiate, but gladly acknowledge the existence of such a relationship. For it is one of the characteristic excellencies of the science of modern times, that while it is not dismayed by the great, it does not disdain the little. Like its own steam-hammer it can, according to its purpose, pound and flatten a ton weight of metal, or crack a nut. To quote the words of a recent writer, the science of the present day "has come reversing all estimates of high and low. Studious rather of actual flies than possible angels; turning from the infinite to search into the infinitesimal; finding the philosopher's stone in every pebble; circumnavigating the rain-drop and reporting its curious tribes; pursuing insects as ardently as suns; reading in flowers the laws of constellations . . exploring primeval forests in frost-pictures on window panes . . showing the consent of solar systems to the motion of a finger—science has come to this generation, wearing on its head the dust, and has taught us to see in that dust a crown more glorious than ever adorned the brow of royalty." Thus science in all its branches has learned to stoop as well as soar; is humble as well as aspiring. Geology, for instance, busies itself with the material composition of continents, but does not overlook the stone-heap by the way-side with the fossils it yields. In like manner, while the science of language discusses the problem of the origin of speech, or studies the comparative relations of all the Indo-European or Aryan tongues, it finds time to listen to the stray provincialism dropped unconsciously from the lips of a peasant, and to look inquisitively on sign-boards whereon the diverse names of men are painted. That many such inquisitive glances have been cast by enthusiastic auxiliaries of the great army of philology, is evident from the extensive literature connected with the subject of the following pages, a literature of which the three works named above are a small but worthy sample.

The method adopted in this and other countries to distinguish an individual from the untold myriads amongst whom he lives, is simple and effective. All who are pleased to read these lines have *two* names at least; one peculiar to them as individuals, the other which they share in common with the remaining members of their family. One was bestowed at baptism and is not necessarily hereditary, the other awaited their coming into the world and is hereditary. In short, we have all christian names, otherwise called forenames and surnames or family names. All our fore-elders, whom we have heard or known anything about, were named after this manner, and we might naturally suppose that a system of nomenclature that works so well here must have been operative in all other lands, even from primeval times. But we should be glaringly at fault in so supposing. For, speaking generally, the

rise of hereditary family names can be taken account of by comparatively modern history. Except amongst five nations—the Chinese, Japanese, Lapps, Romans and some of the tribes that have been swallowed up by the voracious maw of Russia—family names remained unknown till the tenth or eleventh century. Not even the Greeks, with all their wisdom and inventive genius, hit upon our mode of denominating men; and to all who are conversant with works of travel, we need hardly say that in many parts of the world our system of family nomenclature is still unpractised.

We have said that our present system of designating and distinguishing between individuals works well. So it does, as a general rule. If the rule has any exceptions it is in such a place as one familiar to the writer, in which, notwithstanding its proximity to populous towns, far-on in the van of 19th century thought and action, old-world customs still linger, and where the people are so clannish, and intermarry so much, that it is no uncommon thing for five or six persons to be residing in the village, who bear the same baptismal and family names. Here, in this eddy of the rapid current of civilization, rustic ingenuity is taxed to invent nicknames, and is equal to the occasion; the nicknames thus imposed and borne becoming, in point of fact, non-hereditary surnames. We could also take the reader to another village within the compass of an hour's drive of one of our most fashionable watering-places, where, if he were to ask for an inhabitant by his legal name, the person interrogated would likely first of all give him a stare, expressive of ignorance and bewilderment, then scratching his head to stimulate recollection, would at last recall a faint tradition that his next-door neighbour owned the name in question. Here then our modern system of family nomenclature breaks down, and you have its short-comings eked out by a return to the old. Under ordinary circumstances, however, we can get on tolerably well amid all the affairs of life without having recourse to nicknames. But it is worthy of observation that while our name-system may, as a useful expedient, be the best for society at large, it is yet more artificial than other systems—its names having less significance and fitness for the individual. All surnames were, we know, significant when originated; they were full of meaning to those who first bore them. But because the venerable founder of my dynasty had a name that, like the coat he wore, was made for him, it does not follow that between that same name and myself, his descendant, there will be any degree of correspondence. It may sit as oddly upon me as would my ancestor's habiliments. By a cruel irony of fate, the contrast between the individual and his name may be so striking as to provoke a smile. Who cannot recall some persons to mind who, like Little John, Robin Hood's gigantic lieutenant, seem to have been named by

the rule of contrary? Have we not known Slims and Slights who were remarkable for nothing more than their obesity, and numbered amongst our acquaintances Cains, Savages and Warriors, who were kind and gentle as sheep? If it should so happen that there is a striking correspondence between a man's name and his appearance, character or profession, the very rarity and oddity of the coincidence evokes a feeling of amusement. Who, for instance, can see the surname Tugwell inscribed in large gilt letters over the shop-front of the most fashionable hair-dresser in Scarborough, without experiencing an involuntary twitching of his risible muscles? In truth our name-system, so far as the surnames are concerned, is a lottery, where most of us draw blanks. The chances that our hereditary name will become us, are as one to ten thousand.

Nor are things much better when we come to christian names. Generally they are of the same stereotyped pattern; custom being in this case the chief agent in the stereotyping process. It was, as we have all read, the prerogative of Mr. Bumble, the parish beadle, to designate all the hapless foundlings that had to be the recipients of the tender mercies of the workhouse. This functionary's choice of a name knew no limits, save those imposed by his own taste, and the extent of his inventive faculty. He had the endless combinations of the 26 letters of the alphabet to draw upon. But the parent moves with a shorter tether. Propriety and custom demand that the name or names selected for the unchristened infant must already have been borne by some dead or living member of the family. Woe to the parent who, ignoring this custom, or resenting it as an unjustifiable tyranny, is bold enough to be singular in his choice of a name. The daring innovator will in all likelihood have to listen to a chorus of remonstrances from slighted relatives near and distant. "There is none of thy kindred that is called by this name," said the neighbours and cousins of Elizabeth when she would have her son called John. The Zechariahs and Elizabeths of the present day listen to the same complaint from every branch of their family-tree. Need we wonder that custom is too strong for the majority of parents. That it is so is abundantly shown by statistics, from which there is no appeal. A list of the commonest christian names current in England and Wales has been drawn up under official authority, based upon the returns of the registrar general of births, marriages and deaths. The result shows that Mary is the commonest christian name in England and Wales, having been given to 6819 out of 50,000 female children. Then comes William, designating 6590 out of 50,000 male children, followed in order by

John 6230
Elizabeth 4617

Thomas.....3876
George 3620
Sarah 3602
James 3060
Charles..... 2323

50,000 names male or female (as the case may be) being taken in every instance as the basis of the calculations. But while the registrar general's returns show the imperious sway exerted by custom in the naming of children, they also disclose some facts which prove that there are some original people still left in the world. In nothing more than in statistics do we see truth to be stranger than fiction. Who, for instance, would have thought that any parents could have been found willing to give their children the most unchristian christian names of Absalom, Pharaoh, Delilah, or Judas? Yet incontrovertible facts show that such designations are by no means unknown. The same indisputable authority informs us, that at Bridgend the well-nigh unpronounceable name of Maher-shalal-hash-baz was bestowed upon a child; that one at Trenadoc was called Hosanna; one near Monmouth, Sela; one in Anglesea, Sinai; and one somewhere else, Talitha Cumi. The registrar general's infallible pages also record the humorous efforts made by some parents to effect a correspondence between the christian name and the apparent meaning of the surname. For instance, a child called Day was registered under the name of Christmas Day, another called Jordan was put down River Jordan. Here is a list of similar odd compounds culled from the registrar general's returns:—Cardinal Wolsey Church, Sea Gull, Arch Bishop, Green Leaf, Lucky Day, Seaman Skipper, Trial Palmer, Shooting Gallery, Royal King, Smart Natty, Tempest Sleet.* But these fanciful names, and those which are uncouth or suggestive of repulsive associations, are all of them of the nature of exceptions, and comprise but a few out of millions. Less often still do we see the attempt seriously made to impose a name that shall be truly significant. Very occasionally indeed some parents gifted with more originality than common may call their seventh son Septimus, or knowing that Dominic is a contraction of *Dies Dominica* (the day of our Lord), and Noël similarly contracted from *Natalis* (the natal day), may give these forenames to their children born respectively on the Sabbath or Christmas-Day. But any instances of such adaptation are rare. To commemorate the honoured dead, to flatter the living, to stand as a token of friendship, to bestow a name that shall be of euphonious sound or that shall be fashionable (for there are fashions in names as in everything else), these are some of the considerations that usually preside at the imposition of christian names. And so, to return to

* Cornhill Magazine.

our former position, we see that our name-system is very artificial, affording little scope for variety and adaptation, and otherwise it could hardly be.

But in some countries, where the people are living a less conventional and artificial life, proper names have much more significance; and in the infancy of nations this is invariably the rule. The names of the North American Indians are, as we might expect, redolent of the forest and the prairie, and like their language, highly picturesque and poetic. For the most part they bear the name of some animal, and in the course of their life they receive another name, when they have merited it by performing some exploit. For instance, the name of a powerful chief of one of the Marquesas Islands designated some particular part of the tackling of the canoe which the chief could manage with a marked superiority. These people that are closer to nature than we, having themselves proper names that are significant, seem incapable of understanding that the names of Europeans are devoid of significance. A chief of the Delaware Indians wanted to know what the name of a certain Colonel Sprout, who was a man of very high stature, meant. He was told it signified a shoot, a bud. "No," he replied, "he is not a shoot or bud, he is the tree itself." Sometimes children were, and still are, named after circumstances preceding or accompanying their birth. Thus it frequently was amongst the Hebrews. Moses was so called because he was *drawn forth* from the waters. The name of Mary, his eldest sister, was a souvenir of the *bitter waters* the Israelites had to drink. So in Camboge, the name of the day on which the child was born is frequently selected as its cognomen; and in Abyssinia, one which ordinarily recalls some peculiarity attending its birth; as for instance, *born in the night*, or *born whilst they prepared the bouza*. Amongst the Hebrews the name sometimes expressed a wish for the welfare or happiness of the child. Thus Rachel, when her soul was in departing, called her son *Benoni, i.e.*, the son of my sorrow; but Jacob would have him called *Benjamin*, the son of the right hand. Sometimes also amongst the Hebrews the name was borrowed from the first words which the father or other person uttered at the instant of the birth of the child; for to these words, escaped fortuitously, they attached, it is said, a strange and even supernatural significance. The Tcheremisse Tartars give to the child the name of the first person they meet six months precisely after birth. Among the Persians the imposition of the name is a religious ceremony, presided over by a Mollah, or priest. Five names, to be selected from, are written separately on as many slips of paper, which are then placed on the Koran, or on a piece of carpet. The first chapter of the Koran is then read, and one of the five pieces of paper being picked out at hazard, the

name on it is at once given to the child. Here we have plainly an endeavour to relegate the duty of selecting a fitting name to the powers above, who it is supposed will rightly rule the lot and see that one of good omen be fixed upon. A usage just as singular and superstitious as the Persian, though, if anything, more picturesque, was practised as long ago as the time of Chrysostom, who flourished from A.D. 347 to 407. Several wax tapers, with a name attached to each, were lighted, and the name on the taper that went out last was chosen to designate the child, whose lamp of life, it was supposed, would burn all the longer in consequence. Chrysostom was not slow in condemning this custom, but even his animadversions failed to put an end to it. Superstition was too many for the golden-mouthed bishop, and the people went on believing that there was a very great deal in a name.

The christening customs we have just referred to—customs practised by peoples as widely sundered by time as the ancient Hebrews and the modern Tartars, by peoples as far separated by space as the Persians and the North American Indians, and by peoples differing as greatly in their degree of civilization as the Greeks of the Lower Empire and the modern Abyssinians—are all the outcome of the conviction that proper names should be significant, and are attempts to show cause why one name is selected rather than another.

Personal names being originally the reflex of the beliefs and manners of the peoples by whom they were borne, the study of them furnishes deductions which afford matter valuable to the historian. For instance, throughout a vast region of Asia until the time of the Moslem invasion, names of which the letters *a s p* formed part, obtained to a great extent. Now *a s p a* in the Zend language, and *a s p* in Persian, signify a horse. How came it to pass that the horse figured so largely in the names of men? Well, their masters were warriors, and equestrian warriors, spending much of their time and achieving most of their victories on the backs of their favourite steeds. What then more natural than that the animal, endeared to them by well-nigh inseparable companionship, and to which they owed so much, should have left its enduring mark on their names. Among the Greek republics, and especially at Athens and Sparta, the names of men recalled in a thousand ways the power, virtues, and victories of the democracy; knowing that the images of the people were set up in the temple side by side with the statues of Jupiter and the other divinities, this is just what might have been expected. The names once current amongst the Carthaginians show in what high reverence the god Baal was held. An examination of Tartar names could leave no doubt on the mind that amongst these wandering tribes riches and rank were reputed as mainly consisting in the posses-

sion of flocks and herds. If we had no other evidence than the names they bore we might justly conclude that our Teutonic forefathers—Dane, Norse, or Saxon—were a muscular and hard-fighting set, because the names most affected by them were those of wild beasts, or words that were expressive of strength, courage, fleetness, and the glory of battle-strife.

Even in Western Europe during two remarkable epochs—one the revival of learning in the 15th and 16th centuries, the other the prevalence of puritanism in the 17th—eras both of them when men were moved by intense feeling as the trees of the forest are swayed by the wind, the artificiality of our name-system was broken through. During the first period many scholars in their enthusiasm for classical learning changed their rough and homely appellations into more euphonious-sounding Greek; and in many cases these scholars are better known to us by their adopted names, than by those given to them by their fathers. We have all heard of Melanchthon, whom we associate with Luther, even as we do Charles Wesley with John. Well, Schwartzerd, which signifies black earth, was his right name, and Melanchthon was but black earth translated into Greek. A German called Reuchlin turned his name, which by similarity of sound seems to have some connection with smoke, into Capnio. Another, named Grosman or Greatman, must needs become Megander. The famous Dutch scholar, whom we know as Erasmus, was originally Gheraerd, or Gerhard. This really means spear-brave; but etymology was then in its infancy, and fancying that it meant somehow "beloved" or "desired," the bearer of it substituted Desiderius, a Latin name of that import, and to this he added the Greek equivalent Erasmus. Wishart, the Scottish martyr, figures in Buchanan's history with the fine-sounding Greek name Sophocardius—wise-heart.*

If we could only get hold of the muster-roll of Cromwell's troop of Ironsides, or have access to wills and other documents relating to Puritan times, we should meet with devout or theological terms doing duty as christian names, and looking so strangely out of place, that were it not for the reliability of the documents in which they are found, we should be inclined to regard them as nicknames, imposed by roystering, irreverent cavaliers, or pure inventions on the part of prejudiced novelists or play-wrights. Here are a few veritable names as specimens, taken from jury lists:—Redeemed Compton; Faint-not Hewett; Make-peace Heaton; Approved Frewen, and Be-thankful Maynard. Deliverance Fennyhouse was concerned in a will dated 1637. From an epitaph in Cobham Church, Surrey, we learn that Aminadab Cooper, citizen and merchant tailor, of London, who died in 1618, left an only son called God-helpe Cooper. Sabbath Clark was for near 60 years a non-

* Chambers.

conformist minister at Tawin, and Calamy, who relates the fact, says, that at that time parents gave their children such names as Reformation and Discipline.

Indeed (to recur to the principle these facts illustrate) no wave of intense feeling—be that feeling literary, political or religious—can sweep over a country, bowing men's minds beneath its sway, without the names of men being thereby affected. Is there some naval or military hero, or some wise statesman who receives a large share of public regard? We may expect to see his effigy swinging in the wind as an inn-sign, and to have Nelson and Wellington taverns by the score, or else some enthusiastic admirer of the great man will call his children after his idol. We have not the least doubt that during the Jacobite rebellion no end of Charles Edwards would be imposed as baptismal names: in fact, M. Salverte has asserted that a certain enthusiastic adherent of the Stuarts had fourteen sons, and that he called them all Charles Edward in honour of the Pretender. The reader will hardly need reminding that such a statement needs to be taken *cum grano salis*. An examination of the Registrar General's returns of births for the quarter ending December 31st, 1854, disclosed the interesting fact, that during the last three months of that year no less than 519 children in England and Wales were registered under the name of Alma, after the battle which was fought September 20th. Facts showed that very frequently Alma was joined to some other forename equally singular. The following are examples:—Alma Inkerman; Alma Balaklava; Alma Inkerman Sebastapol; Alma Raglan; Alma Raglan Arnaud; Alma Heights. It has been ascertained that many of the children thus denominated were the sons and daughters of soldiers, and that Alma continues to keep its ground as a christian name.

In all these cases it is the christian name rather than the surname that is decided by contemporary events. But there is another way in which the artificiality of our name-system is supplemented by something more natural; in this case the makers of history rather than its mere onlookers being affected. Kings, statesmen and others who live in the glare of constant publicity, run the risk of having nicknames affixed to them that will be lasting as their memories. Between these *sobriquets* of the great, and the nicknames current among the lower classes, before referred to, there is a difference. The latter usually serve to distinguish between individuals who might be confounded together; the final end of the former is to be apposite to the individual; their *raison d'etre*, the secret of their popularity and the condition of their perpetuity, are found in their *point*, in the fact that they seize hold of and express some peculiarity of his person, or transfix some foible or merit of his career, just as the entomologist's pin transfixes

the poor moth. So has he been served who is known in history as "the first gentleman in Europe." Such nicknames repeat the process which in olden time gave some distinctive appellation to the christian names of our kings, as Harold Harefoot, William Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry Beauclerc, Richard Cœur-de-lion, Edward Longshanks, &c. We spell them with a capital letter and know whom they designate, although no christian or surname may be mentioned. To be nicknamed and caricatured in the cartoons of Punch or elsewhere are the penalties which our modern statesmen have to pay for their position, and such has been the lot of England's foremost senators for generations past. Sometimes these titles are complimentary; more usually they are barbed with sharp irony, or contain some allusion which they who bear them would willingly let die. Sir Robert Walpole had several *aliases* during his long ministerial career. He was most frequently styled Robin Bluestring; now and then the name of the "Large Macaw" was given him; while his enemies knew him as "Sir Robert Brass." Because of his physical imperfections Lord Temple was rather cruelly spoken of as "Lord Gawky." George Grenville was called "the Gentle Shepherd," in commemoration of a poignant retort of which he was the object. When Prime Minister and at his wit's end to know how to replenish the exchequer, he besought his opponents to tell him where he could impose taxes to which they would not take exception. "Where," he cried, "I ask you where?" Thereupon, William Pitt gently but audibly murmured the quotation, "Gentle Shepherd, tell me where?" This sally was received with laughter by the House, and led to Grenville being known ever after as "the Gentle Shepherd." Lord North was first called "Boreas" from the blustering, high-handed way he treated the complaints of the American Colonists. Afterwards he went by the names of the "Political Washerwoman" and "Soap Suds," because he sought to levy a tax on soap. As nicknames are often coarse and fraught with unpleasant reminiscences, it is not to be wondered at that they are disliked and shunned by exalted personages. Yet regarded philologically, they can perhaps give a better account of themselves than the more respectable names they assist or displace; for they distinguish and something more. John Bright no more describes the greatest parliamentary orator of the day than Bill Sykes would. His virtues would be as fragrant to most Englishmen were he called by any other name. But the "Popular Tribune" not only reminds us of the man, but of what has been his life-work. The French have been great bestowers of nicknames and are still adepts in that line. They contemptuously speak of the "Man of Sedan" or call him "Badinguet," after the unfortunate corporal killed in the Boulogne expedition. The late continental war

familiarized us with the persons and deeds of "Unser Fritz" and the "Red Prince." Readers of modern political history will not need to be told who were called "Starvation Dundas," "Orange Peel," or "the Great Middleman," "the Rupert of Debate" and "Finality John."

The expectation of discovering hidden meanings and prophecies in proper names gave rise to the *Anagram*, so called from a Greek word, signifying *to write backward*. An anagram is formed by transposing the letters composing a person's name in such a manner as to produce a word or sentence that may be deemed applicable to the person. In a proper anagram no letter should be added to, or taken from those found in the proper name. Charles I. had for Attorney General a hard-working lawyer, called William Noy, the anagram of whose name was made out significantly enough to be "I moyl in law." Dr. Burney's happy Latin Anagram on Horatio Nelson, was "*Honor est a Nilo*" (my honour is from the Nile.) The courtiers of James I. proved his right to the British Monarchy, as the descendant of the mythical King Arthur, from his name Charles James Stuart, which becomes "Claims Arthur's Seat." An Author in dedicating a book to the same monarch, finds that in James Stuart he has "a just master." John Bunyan made his own name into "Nu honey in a B." It was only lately discovered by Mr. Carlyle, that the name of Voltaire, the great French Infidel, was an anagrammatic rendering of his father's name, Arouet, l. j., that is, Arouet, junior.* Now the making of anagrams is merely a piece of elegant trifling, undertaken out of curiosity, or for amusement as an exercise of ingenuity; or, if undertaken seriously by any one, it is by some infatuated lover who tries to twist the letters of his fair one's name into all sorts of adorable forms. But anciently the study of the names, letters, numbers, and accents of the law formed part of the Cabalistic science of the Jews; and in the days when men read their fate in the lines of Virgil, or the verse of the Scripture, which they turned up and their eye first lighted on, sedate men—even Puritan Bishops found edification in anagrammatizing; and some would ascertain what their name denoted with feelings similar to those which in classical times he had, who consulted the oracle. Then a man's name was as the book of destiny, to be opened with trembling hand, and not merely a useful device like the number on a house door.

The original significance of proper names too has, without doubt, given rise to many myths which ornament our histories while they detract from their credibility. The nurse of Cyrus is said to have been a dog, and that of Romulus a wolf. These fables have probably grown out of the name of one and the surname of the other. But, perhaps it is in Monkish Chronicles that we may best see the

* Chambers.

evolution of myths from names. Let us give the tale about Saint Christopher, that has the right mythical ring about it. We give it in the words of Professor Max Müller. "The book of Golden Legends says of St. Christopher that he was a Canaanite, very tall and fearful to look at. He would not serve anybody who had himself a master; and when he heard that his lord was afraid of the devil, he left him, and became himself the servant of the devil. One day, however, when passing a cross, he observed that his new master was afraid of the cross, and learning that there was one more powerful than the devil, he left him to enter the service of Christ. He was instructed by an old hermit, but being unable to fast or pray, he was told to serve Christ by carrying travellers across a deep river. This he did, until one day he was called three times, and the third time he saw a child that wished to be carried across the river. He took him on his shoulders, but his weight was such that he could hardly reach the opposite shore. When he had reached it, the child said that he had carried Christ himself on his shoulders, in proof whereof, the stick which he had used for many years, when planted in the earth, grew into a tree. Many more miracles are said to have happened to him afterwards, till at last he suffered the death of a martyr. It is clear, and it is not denied even by Roman Catholic writers, that the whole legend of St. Christopher sprang from his name, which means, 'he who bears Christ.' That name was intended in a spiritual sense, just as St. Ignatius took the name of Theophorus, 'he who bears God, namely, in his heart. But as in the case of St. Ignatius, the people who martyred him, when tearing out his heart, are said to have found it miraculously inscribed with the name of God, so the name of Christophorus led to the legend just quoted." Take another name-begotten legend. A holy monk named Athanasius was raised to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. One day, this holy man having gathered some herbs, summoned a wolf to carry them to the monastery. The wolf felt the force of virtue, and was obedient to the monk's bidding. It was afterwards said that the name of the messenger Athanasius employed—which was Wolf—was all that gave rise to the tale.

We thus see what pranks words play with men; a single proper name sufficing to engender a long legend like that of St. Christopher, or St. Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins. Nor is it simply credulous Romanists who are thus victimized by words. We are all cheated by them more than we think. "When a name is of foreign origin, or made up of words that have become obsolete, there is a tendency to change the words for others that are more familiar, or to which some meaning can be attached." This mythologic or metamorphic process has turned the inn-sign of St. Catherine's wheel into the Cat and the wheel, and the fine old

Puritan sign "God encompasseth us," into the "Goat and Compasses." Any person might naturally suppose that Her Majesty's stalwart beefeaters had been so called from their prowess in the beef-eating line, whereas their title is simply a corruption of the French *buffetier*, one who waits at the buffet. Sparrowgrass has no real connection with sparrows, or the walnut tree with a wall; the former being corrupted from Asparagus, and the latter meaning the Welsh or foreign nut.

We now wish to show how this same metamorphic process is at work amongst the names of men as well as of things. When a surname has become unintelligible, there is a tendency to corrupt towards a meaning, and this tendency is accelerated if the surname be hard to pronounce. This guiding principle being known, enables us to explain a great number of the quaint and ridiculous surnames that are current in Britain. Most people light upon a queer name now and again, but they can form no idea of the number of such, until they have set themselves to look for them, or until they have inspected the lists of surnames collected and tabulated by others. It has been said that Dickens found all his odd names in the London Directory. Whether this be so or no, certain it is that Pickwick, Weller, Snodgrass, Nickleby, Gamp, and Squeers are all genuine surnames. A large proportion of our most curious surnames are gross corruptions that, in the course of time have put on the semblance of a meaning which does not belong to them. Some people have actually borne the name of Blackmonster. This repulsive name had originally no connection whatever with monsters either black or white, but was corrupted from Blanch Minster, the White Monastery, once the designation of more than one religious house. The queer name Drinkwater (which might have been given to some staunch teetotaller of the olden time) is supposed to be a variation of Derwentwater. Devil has grown out of De ville; Death out of De Athe; Bridecake and Breadcake out of Bridekirk, a place in Northumberland; Cakebread out of Kirkbride in Scotland; Cutbeard out of Cuthbert, &c.

The next and last step in the metamorphic process is to invent and fasten a tale upon the name which has been so corrupted. Many families (especially Scottish ones) have tales purporting to account for the origin of their names. The Nasmyths have their myth. This is how it runs. In the reign of Alexander III. the ancestor of the family being in attendance on the King, was, on the eve of battle, required by him to repair his armour. Although a man of great stature and power he was unsuccessful. After the battle, having performed prodigies of valour, he was knighted by the King, with the remark that "although he was *nae smith*, he was a brave gentleman." The armorial bearings of the family have reference to the origin of the name—a drawn sword between two

martels, or war hammers broken, with the motto, *non arte sed marte*, meaning, not by skill, but by bravery. The name of Turnbull is connected with a story about a ferocious bull, which the ancestor of the family is said to have turned. Donald, son of Earl Lennox, took the name of Napier (so the tale goes) because King David said after a battle "that all his warriors had behaved valiantly, but there was one amongst them who had *nae peer*."* In each of these cases the surname has without doubt given rise to the legend.

But it is time to bring our gossip to a close, though many interesting inquiries have not been touched upon. Nothing has been said as to the causes of the introduction of surnames into Britain. No attempt has been made to classify our countless family names, or to give the etymology of those which, through phonetic decay or other causes, have become unintelligible. The pursuit of these and other similar inquiries would take us too far afield, and besides lies wide of our present purpose, which is merely to offer remarks that have a general bearing on the names of men.

As we survey the countless appellations which serve to distinguish mankind, one reflection occurs to us, which we put into words ere we lay down our pen. It is not the least of the distinctions of man that he is a name-giver, or denominator. Ever since God brought the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air to Adam to see what he would call them, man has been giving names to the seen and unseen things around him. The successive stages of his subjugation of the world have been signalized by the multiplication of his ideas and the words correspondent thereto. These ideas have been created by perception, abstraction, and generalization; they have been bodied forth by articulate sound; and memory, custom, and written records have given them fixity and permanence. When the growth of language, from its numerically small beginnings, is considered, the dreams of our developmentarians seem to find a parallel. The Romance, Teutonic, and Celtic tongues have had a common origin, and though they may differ widely from each other in the form of their words and in the comparative copiousness of their vocabularies, yet philologists tell us that each of these families of speech has been evolved out of a few simple, primitive roots that had at first a very wide and general signification. So each Aryan tongue, like a forest, has been a slow outgrowth from these ancient roots of language. Proper names of every kind are resolvable into general ideas. The names of rivers, mountains, bays, &c., as also the names of men, were not at first arbitrary sounds, fixed upon by convention, but general terms in current use, expressive of some prominent quality or feature in the object designated. Many of the river-names of Europe once simply meant *water;* and many mountains were called the *Snowy* or the

* Chambers.

High. These general ideas are still latent in the words *Ouse*, or Mont *Blanc*, or *Snowdon*, though we do not recognise their presence till they have been brought to the touch-stone of etymology. Proper names often bear part in a further process, by which, in the end, they enrich our stock of general terms. Like the branch of the Banyan tree, they grow into the ground again, and in their turn become roots. The *rationale* of this process may be stated thus: A man's name becomes significative of that which is most remarkable about him. "Our proper name is ourselves; in our thought, in the thought of them who know us, nothing can separate our being from it. . . . . Some insignificant syllables, of which the sense is in no way applicable to the individual, nevertheless suffice inevitably to awaken the remembrance of his physical aspect, of his moral character, of the most remarkable actions or events of his life; a few syllables serve to re-open the source of a mother's tears, whose mind has been for a time diverted from her loss; they cover the maiden's face with blushes while she fancies her secret is already revealed; they make the lover's heart palpitate, relume the fire of anger in the eyes of an enemy, and, to one absent from his friend, renew at once both regret and hope." It is, then, not without significance that in the Scriptures qualities and actions are predicated of the mere *Name* of God. Christ's Name is "above every other Name," because while one man's name may have come to stand for wisdom and that of another be synonymous with patience, His name alone is expressive of all conceivable excellences. Proper names having thus got to denote certain special qualities, pass into our vocabularies and enrich our language. There was once a furious driver called Jehu, and when we now speak of a man as being a *Jehu* we have conveyed our meaning. *Cæsarism* is a certain definable mode of government. The "weeping prophet" has given us the term *Jeremiad*. From classical sources we have acquired the adjectives *saturnine*, *mercurial*, the noun *Phillipic*, and the verb to *Hector*. The same process is going on now. One man practises a crime unheard-of before and gives us the word to *Burke*; another invents a new mode of solidifying and repairing highways, and we call it *macadamizing*. Thus the proper names of men bear witness to the fact that there is a living growth going on in language.

BICKERSTAFFE.

ART. V.—ATOMS OF THOUGHT.

(FIRST SERIES.)

AS men teach children, so God teaches men. His Word is the alphabet of wisdom. "When I was a child I understood as a child."

Quality of birth is a name; quality of manhood is a nature. Every true man is noble, but every noble is not a true man. Rejoice that thou art a man; it depends on thyself whether or not thou art noble.

Simply to be, with human form and faculty, is the great thing.

With God for my friend, and Immortality for my inheritance, what need I fear?

Faculty is nature's gift—education our parents'—character our own.

To be virtuous is to be natural; and to be "born again," is to be virtuous.

Christianity at once brings us back to nature, and raises us above it.

We are kept in this world to be made good; we must be taken to the next to be made great. "When I became a man I put away childish things."

Contentment is richer than Crœsus. She is her own world, and cares not for that which Alexander conquered, much less for that which he wept for.

The future cannot harm us unless we go to it. And to make the most of the future, as well as to defy it, we must make the most of the present.

That mind is best balanced which can best adapt itself to circumstances.

Wishing to be what one is not is like taking a leap in the dark.

No power is so mighty as the power of littles.

The more we know of nature, the more we know of God.

Law is everywhere, and the supernatural is but the natural out of sight.

Law is a Jacob's ladder, and miracles are but its higher rounds.

Space is infinite, therefore the universe must be limited; otherwise infinity could be fitted, which is a contradiction.

To know anything perfectly, we should be infinite.

To know one thing to perfection, implies a knowledge of all things; for,

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole."

Humility is a deeper insight.

Better to be born with a good flow of animal spirits, than with a silver spoon in one's mouth.

The soul is a seed which God puts into the body to ripen for himself, the body being the clod which develops the germ of immortality into "the bright consumnate flower."

If a God implies mystery, a no-God implies it a thousandfold more. It requires the mind of God to comprehend God:—it only requires common sense to perceive that God is. To believe in a God is natural, inasmuch as it is universal; therefore reason never

denies him till it becomes unreason. It is *as if* God is, *therefore* he is.

Genius is intuition, insight, realization, in the highest degree of development. The eye of the eagle, and the eye of the sparrow, are constructed on the same general optical principles, yet the one is at home in the immensities, whilst the other is confined to the hedgerow.

We all forget more than we remember: if we remembered everything, we should be gods, not men.

Invention is better than memory, as a field is better than a warehouse.

Conscience is thought feeling.

Adversity makes better or worse. It is the greatest of teachers and forces us to learn. To profit from its lessons, however, depends upon the will, which cannot be forced.

Nothing is so potent as words but deeds.

As images in the mind have real being and form, and yet do not occupy space,—so may the soul.

The doctrine of infinite divisibility, and the doctrine of ultimate atoms, alike make matter quasi-spiritual.

It is mind that masters.

Christianity *alone* fits for, and has promise of, both worlds.

A good heathen is better than a bad Christian.

Socrates, Pascal, and Fenelon, were great and good, in spite of the systems under which they were reared, and therefore exceptions to a general rule.

To deny the possibility of miracles is equivalent to denying a God.

Faith is "evidence of things not seen," because an instinct always implies an object.

Earth is the first step of the stairway of endless progression, that "slopes through darkness up to God;" and heaven will probably be more like earth, in its general characteristics, than is commonly thought. "What if earth be but the shadow of heaven?" "There shall be no more *curse*." That will be the *great* differentiation.

Two omnipotents would neutralised each other; therefore Manicheeism (as popularly understood) cannot be true.

It is quite right to thank God "that we are not as other men," if only we ascribe to him the grace which makes the difference.

Imagination is a bee that finds honey everywhere.

If gravitation is not God, it is the next door to him.

Laws of nature are another name for the power of God in action.

The laws of nature are not concrete existences. There is nothing in nature but its phenomena or facts. It is absurd to speak of abstractions as if they had being out of that shaping

power which "gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name."

The term natural—supernatural, as applied to the phenomena of the visible universe, is most just and significant. For, as Cowper says,

> "All we behold is miracle, but seen
> So duly, all is miracle in vain."

A strong will is better than a fine mind.

It is firmness that is feared.

Perseverances pipe at work.

The best friend is a good conscience.

It is greatness that feels its littleness.

On christian principles nothing is so important, on infidel principles nothing is so insignificant, as human action.

To fear death is evidence of a low state of christian attainment. Even Cicero, as well as some other noble heathens, looked forward to it with pleasure, as probably (only) introducing them into a higher and happier state of being. When John Foster said, that death was the only bright spot on his horizon, he spake at once as a philosopher and a christian.

Darwin's *Descent of Man*, is the Mountain in labour to produce a *mouse*. Darwin may be a great man; but his theory is a great absurdity, which no amount of ingenuity can make appear anything else. To give up Moses for Darwin is surely to strain at a gnat, and to swallow a camel. In this book we have an instance of a clever man, consciously or unconsciously, "stooping to folly," in order to conquer common sense. If Darwin believes in his own notion, he certainly possesses an extent of credulity with which no believer in revelation and creation can be charged; and ought to put a strong bridle on a mind that can jump to such strange conclusions, lest it should in some unlucky hour follow the example of "the cow that jumped over the moon." "Far-fetched, and little worth" is Darwinism, according to our humble finding, which is the result of all the reading and thought we could give to the subject. Not one of the least of the objections to this theory, which by the way is as old as it is ugly, is that it carries God so far down in the abyss of natural laws as to render it almost impossible to get at Him. And if by the barest possibility you should struggle down to that indispensable ultimate, you would find it so modified and minified as to be like Gratiano's "two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff, not worth the search."

Darwin's facts may be true, for aught we know; but if his hypothesis and theory be true, they are so for some reason we *don't* know, and which he certainly does not help us to. It is obvious that his bases of fact is not broad enough for the superstructure of doctrine raised upon it. As Hugh Miller says, "No theory of development can get over the great geologic fact, that the immense

distance between man and the lower animals is not bridged over by any fossil-connecting link hitherto found among the archives of the rocks; whose testimony, we might add, alone could prove so incredible an ism as that of evolution."

JABEZ COLE.

ART. VI.—RECENT EXPLORATIONS IN PALESTINE.

THE watchword of the old Crusaders in their arduous expeditions to the East was, "the recovery of Jerusalem." The new crusade recently organised is certainly more worthy of the old motto, which we find its originators have adopted in the volumes recording their labours up to this time.* The once sacred, and ever venerable city, Jerusalem, will be more truly and effectually recovered to the world and to Christian literature by the labours of the crusaders of the nineteenth century than by those of the middle ages. The marvellous sacrifices, and costly and laborious expeditions to Palestine in the olden times were frequently the offspring of perverted religious sentiment, and for the most part totally failed in the object for which they were undertaken.

In 1477, Martin Kotzel undertook a pilgrimage to Palestine to count the number of steps from the house of Pontius Pilate to Mount Golgotha. He intended to count an equal number of steps from his own house to the cemetery of St. John, and to erect seven statues by the celebrated sculptor, Adam Kraft, and at the extremity, a Calvary with three statues of Christ and the executioners. But when he got back to Nuremburg he had forgotten the number of steps; he took his staff and travelled back to Palestine, and counted them again; and, on his second return, he executed the project, a most magnificent work of art, which still remains almost as perfect as when it left the sculptor's hands. Thus much, as in this instance, and as in the case of the crusades, has been achieved in expeditions and pilgrimages to the holy land. But in the expedition of the present day, of which we now propose to compile the leading incidents, a higher aim and more important end are seen; the present crusade is not for the rescue of Christians from the Turks, but of Christian records from devouring time; not as in the old crusade, to redden the soil of Palestine with human blood, shed professedly in the cause of Christ: but rather, peacefully and reverently, to trace His footsteps and gather up the still lingering evidences of His memorable sojurn on our earth.

* "*The Recovery of Jerusalem*," edited by Walter Morrison, M.P., Honorary Treasurer to the Palestine Exploration Fund. London: Richard Bentley.

The exploration in Jerusalem and Palestine now being conducted with such good results, seemed to have originated from a consideration of the sanitary state of Jerusalem, in the year 1864, with a view to its improvement. The city, which the Psalmist described as "beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth," had become one of the most unhealthy places in the world, in consequence, chiefly, of the inferior quality of the water, and the presence of an enormous mass of rubbish which had been accumulating for centuries. Several schemes were proposed for improving the supply of water, either by repairing the ancient system, or by making new pools, cisterns, and aqueducts. As a necessary preliminary to the execution of the work, an accurate plan of the city was required; and for this purpose Miss Burdett Coutts, a lady ever ready to originate or promote a good work, placed the sum of £500 in the hands of a committee of gentlemen interested in Jerusalem.

This committee requested the then Secretary of State for War, Lord de Grey, to allow a survey to be made by a party of Royal Engineers from the Ordnance Survey, under the direction of Sir Henry James, and this was granted. Eventually the surveying party was sent out under the direction of Captain Wilson, R.E., who, however, was to bear his own expenses, as the Government was to be put to no cost in the matter; a strange contrast this governmental proceeding seems, when placed side by side with the recent lavish expenditure of millions of money on the Abyssinian war, any good results of which it would be difficult to discover.

On the 12th of September, 1864, the party left Southampton, amidst the cheers and with the good wishes of numerous friends of the expedition, and reached Jaffa on the 30th of September, and Jerusalem on the 3rd of October.

A short descriptive account of the topography of the "Holy City" is necessary before entering into any details of the recent explorations. Jerusalem is one of the oldest cities on earth, and, in many respects stands alone in its historical experiences. It has been about seventeen times besieged and destroyed and then rebuilt entirely or partially; so that the city of to-day stands on 80 to 100 feet depth of ruins in many places. There is a freshness and realistic tone in the descriptions of Captain Wilson; the following introductory account of the city is a sample. "Jerusalem is emphatically a mountain city. The Bible teems with allusions to this peculiarity in its situation. Built on the very backbone of the country, the summit of that long ridge which traverses Palestine from north to south, and only approached by wild mountain roads, the position of the city was one of great natural strength, and this gave the inhabitants that feeling of security from hostile attack which seems to be implied by the Psalmist in the well-

known verse, 'As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so is the Lord round about His people.' The modern city stands, as the ancient one did before it, on the southern extremity of a spur or plateau, enclosed by two ravines, which bear the familiar names of Kedron and Hinnom.

The ravines rise at the watershed within a short distance of each other, at an altitude of 2,650 feet above the Mediterranean; the easternmost, the valley of Kedron or Jehoshaphat, runs eastward for a mile and a half, and then makes a sharp bend to the south; the westernmost, the valley of Hinnom, after following a direction nearly south for a mile and a quarter, turns to the east, and passing through a deep gorge joins the Kedron at Bir Eyub, a deep well south of the city.

A third ravine, the Tyropœon, *i.e.*, valley of the cheesemongers, or perhaps tyrians—rises well up in the plateau, and after passing through the city and dividing it into two unequal halves, joins the Kedron at Siloam. The eastern spur is Mount Moriah, the former site of the temples of Solomon, Zerubbabel and Herod; on the western spur were once situated the palace of Herod, the three great towers Hippicus, Phasaelus and Marianne, and the upper city of Josephus. The south side of the city was protected by strong natural defences; the north side, the only one open to attack, was defended by three very strong walls. The plateau on which the city stands slopes uniformly to the south-east, and contains about 1,000 acres; it is of tertiary limestone, and the upper beds provide an extremely hard compact stone, whilst the lower, in which most of the ancient tombs and cisterns have been cut, consist of a soft white stone."

The most debated point in the topography of Jerusalem, and which the explorations have not yet cleared up, is the exact position of the former temple of the Jews. All traces of it have been removed, "not one stone is left upon another." It is agreed by all that it stood within the sacred enclosure, the Sanctuary now called, on Mount Moriah; and the vexed question as to the site is after all only, whether, on the one hand, the Temple enclosure was co-extensive with the Sanctuary, or, on the other hand, was confined to a square of 600 feet at the south-western corner of the same place. "On one point all are agreed," writes Captain Wilson, "that the magnificent triple cloister, the Stoa Basilica, built by Herod, stood on the top of the southern wall, and the appearance of this when perfect must have been grander than anything we know of elsewhere. It is almost impossible to realize the effect which would be produced by a building longer and higher than York Cathedral, standing on a solid mass of masonry almost equal in height to the tallest of our church spires; and to this we must add the dazzling whiteness of stone fresh from the mason's hands."

The present aspect of the spot must be still indicative of its ancient beauty and grandeur, studded, as the mount is, with cypress and olive, surrounded also by some of the finest mural masonry in the world, begirt at the south side by the pile of the Mosque El Aska, and near it the five buildings formerly used by the knights templar; and, on a raised platform in the centre paved with stone, is the Mosque Kubbet es-Sakhra, with its beautifully-proportioned dome.

The two places of greatest interest in Jerusalem are the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Sanctuary; most of the late excavations have, it seems, been made in the neighbourhood of the latter. The most remarkable feature in connection with the city and the sanctuary area, especially, is the existence of numerous ancient subterranean excavations; in fact the ground under the city is literally "honeycombed" with a most strange labyrinth of cisterns, grottoes, tunnels, stairs, and passages. The origin of these subterranean excavations seems to have been for the purpose of water supply, and for the quarrying of stone, the latter being evidenced by the discovery of the royal caverns or quarries where the proofs of its having been a quarry soon appear. The stones, more or less cut, have been left as the work was going on. The blocks of stone were cut out of the solid rock, and were thus produced already squared for building. On the left-hand side of each cutting there is a very slight hollow formed at the corner, into which a small wick may have been placed and a little oil, the small cup-like hollow thus forming a lamp; and the smoke has blackened the white limestone above, which still remains over each as a record of the past. The principal part of these subterranean spaces forms a series of rock-hewn cisterns, in which the water, brought by an aqueduct from Solomon's Pools, near Bethlehem, was stored. These cisterns seem to have been connected by channels cut in the rock, so that when the first was full the channel conveyed the overflowing water to the second, and afterwards through the whole, until the final overflow was carried off into the Kedron. The cistern named the Great Sea would contain two million gallons, and the total quantity which could be stored is estimated at about ten millions of gallons.

Josephus records that the wall of the Temple was so high that a person on the pinnacle could scarcely see to the bottom. There are now only about 30 feet of this wall visible above ground in many places, and, therefore, the statement on the part of the explorers that in some shafts of 100 feet depth from the present surface they are only at the foundation of the Ophel Wall, the extraordinary and difficult nature of the present researches may be judged.* "All over the ground there is scarcely a bit of rock

* Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund, March, 1870.

that has not been touched by a tool. Wherever we have excavated we have found the rock at the bottom of our shafts to be cut away in steps, or levelled, or otherwise showing that the hand of man had been applied to it." There is thus, as a cause of wonder to modern explorers, not only the 30 to 90 feet *debris* over almost every part of the surface of the site of the city, but also the universal cutting away of the original surface below. One late writer says, "The question naturally arises, for what purpose were these cuttings made? Were they quarries, or defences, or were they merely the levelling of the rock for the houses of the Jebusites, or of those who first built the city? This may have been the spot where the people prepared the 'great stones, costly stones, and hewed stones, to lay the foundation of the house.'—(1 Kings v. 17). Some of the stones are about 10 feet in length, and 4 to 5 feet high; many of them are also very beautifully dressed, so that the description 'great stones, costly stones, and hewed stones,' proves to be literally exact."

Another noteworthy discovery, as illustrative of Scripture, is that of the supposed mason's marks on the stones of the Sanctuary wall. A shaft was sunk near the south-east angle of the Sanctuary. The *debris*, consisting of stone chippings, alternating with fat earth, was sunk through to a depth of 53 feet, and a gallery was then driven in to the Sanctuary wall, passing, in its course, through other two rough masonry walls. Here three letters, in red paint, were found on one of the stones. A gallery was then driven to the south-east angle of the wall, and a shaft sunk: another character, in red paint, was found on the wall while sinking the shaft. "The letters, or characters, are in red paint,* apparently put on with a brush; the larger letters are 5 inches high. There are a few red splashes here and there, as if the paint had dropped from the brush. The general impression resulting from the examination of these marks is, *that they are the quarry marks, and were made before the stones were placed in situ.' If this be the case, then the stones must have been dressed previously to their having been brought from the quarries.*" In this item we are presented with a wonderful confirmation of the Bible history of the building. "And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone, made ready before it was brought thither; so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, *nor* any tool of iron, heard in the house, while it was in building."—(1 Kings vi. 7).

The next point of interest is the pool of Bethesda. "Eusebius†, in his Onomasticon, gives no idea as to site, but tells us that 'Bethesda' is a pool at Jerusalem, which is the Piscina Probatica, and had formerly five porches, and now is pointed out as the twin

* Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund, April 1869.
† Lewin, p.p. 487, 488.

pools there, of which one is filled by the rains of the year, but the other exhibits its waters tinged in an extraordinary manner with red, retaining a trace, they say, of the victims that were formerly cleansed in it." The red colour of the water in one of the pools would be the result of the rapid influx of water after the heavy rains through the underground channels. The chief result of search here, is the decision of the pools now called Birket Israil being the original pool of Bethesda. These are described by the Bordeaux Pilgrim as, "two great pools at the side of the temple; that is, one on the right hand, and the other on the left, which Solomon made."

The explorations have also been partially carried on in the twin-pool under the Convent of Sisters of Sion; the tanks under the Sanctuary; one of these tanks being under the spot which Captain Wilson suggests as having been the position of the altar of burnt offerings. Near this stood the "Dome of the Roll;" the origin of the building of this dome was a tradition that one of the ancient kings on a visit to Jerusalem, having ascended the Mount of Olives, threw a roll which fell here. There are, it seems, various accounts of this matter, and the truth respecting it is very vague indeed. The legend, however, is supposed to be older than the Moslem era. "The Jews at the present day affirm that the volume of the Sacred Law is buried somewhere in the sanctuary, for which reason it is forbidden to them to enter; and there is a legend given in one of the works of Jerusalem stating how this volume was found."

In examining the waters of Jerusalem, Captain Wilson, in his ordnance survey notes, has classed them under the heads of springs, tanks and aqueducts. He says, "The aqueducts are supposed to have been three in number, leading at different levels from near Solomon's Pools." The low level aqueduct is still in use, and carries water, though imperfectly, into Jerusalem to the Pasha's Palace, the Judgment Hall, and the Great Sea under the Mosque, when it is drawn up and sold to the people about the place.

Other pools have been examined, the names of many of which are of great interest to the biblical student; the pool of Hezekiah, Gihon in the Valley (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14.); the pool of Siloam, and the Virgin's Fount. There is a passage from the latter to the pool of Siloam, which has been carefully examined, although the work was attended with much hardship and danger. The exploring party entered from the Siloam end, and at 600 feet from the entrance the passage had decreased down from 16 feet at entrance to 2 feet 6 inches. The measurements were taken with tape, compass and field-book as an accurate survey, and at length, the mud being 18 inches deep, the party were crawling on all fours, and the waters beginning to rise, they were soon up

to their necks in it, and the candle carried for the most part in the mouth of one of the party. At another part of the passage, they had to run the gauntlet of the waters; the passage being only 1 foot 4 inches high, they had just 4 inches breathing space, and, in taking observations, it could only be done with the mouth under water. Further on the passage gradually increased in height, and at a distance of 178 feet they came out at the Virgin's Fount, after having been nearly four hours in the water. A shaft was discovered in this passage, respecting which Captain Wilson writes, "The discovery of a shaft down to the water of the Virgin's Fount threw considerable light upon the object of the rock-cut canals about Jerusalem, as proving they had been conjectured by some to have been for conducting away the refuse and blood from the temple.

The following further account of the district of the pool of Siloam we transcribe in the words of Captain Wilson, the chief of the exploring party. "There are two pools of Siloam, a small one, into which the waters from the Virgin's fount fall after issuing from the tunnel, the other a larger pool now nearly filled up. This latter I suppose to have been the pool dug by king Hezekiah, and to be that going under the name of Siloam in Josephus (War v., 10, 4.) and the 'king's pool' in the first chapter of the prophet Nehemiah."

"The question as to the origin of the Virgin's fount aqueduct is a very interesting one; it appears to me to have been constructed in the following manner; first, an intermittent fountain on the east side of the Kedron issuing into the valley. When the Assyrians were expected by king Hezekiah, the fountains outside the city were stopped and the water brought inside. This applies completely to this fountain, for we find a canal cut in the rock leading due west till it is well under the hill of Ophel, then a shaft down to this canal with a place scooped out at bottom for water to lie in, and an iron ring at top to tie the rope of the bucket to; leading from this shaft is a great corridor cut in the rock, and then also a staircase leading up until it is under a vaulted roof, exit being on the hill of Ophel, a few feet from the ridge, and almost certainly within the ancient walls."

The term Ophel, used frequently by the explorers in their narratives, is explained by Dr. Robinson as the name for the southern end of the hill Moriah, between the Temple and Siloam. It appears to have been used in a more limited sense originally, and Captain Wilson suggests that it was the name by which the palace of Solomon was known, a building which would, in the age of the later kings of Judah, have commanded the Kedron Valley by a wall of at least 150 feet in height, increased subsequently by King Herod to 200 feet, by the building of the royal cloisters. He also

states, King Solomon's Palace was evidently at a lower level than the Temple, and, therefore, King Jotham may have still built much upon the wall. This is found to be in keeping with the Old Testament record. (2 Chron. xxvii. 3),—"He built the high gate of the house of the Lord, and on the wall of Ophel he built much." Also, (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14),—"Now after this he (Manasseh) built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering at the fish-gate, and compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height, and put captains of war in all the fenced cities of Judah." In confirmation of this application of the term Ophel to the palace, as well as to the wall, Captain Wilson points to 2 Chron. xvii. 8, and the Targum, which has for Ophel—"the wall of the Interior Palace."

Next in point of interest to the discoveries in Jerusalem are the researches in the district round the Sea of Galilee, in which our Lord passed so great a portion of the time of His ministry, and performed so many of His mighty works.

Commencing at the northern end of the lake, near the mouth of the Jordan, the exploring party proceeded along the western bank. The first ruin noticed is Abu Zany, the site, according to Dr. Thomson, of the Galilean Bethsaida; all to be seen are a few small mounds and heaps of stones.

The first camping ground was fixed at Tel Hum, on the western shore of the lake, two miles south from the mouth of the Jordan.* "We were soon amongst those ruins which, if they are as we believe them to be, those of Capernaum, must always have such a lasting interest. We readily made our way to the 'White Synagogue' and the more conspicuous building at the water's edge; the latter of which had been almost entirely built with limestone blocks taken from the Synagogue to which we principally turned our attention. A party of Arabs, brought down from Safed, were set to work, and cleared out a large portion of the interior, sufficient to enable a plan to be made. The original building is seventy-four feet nine inches long by fifty-six feet nine inches wide; it is built north and south, and at the southern end has three entrances. It may be asked what reason there is for believing the original building to have been a Jewish Synagogue, and not a temple or church. Seen alone there might have been some doubt as to its character, but compared with the number of ruins of the same character which have lately been brought to notice in Galilee, there can be none. Two of these buildings have inscriptions in Hebrew over their main entrances; one in connection with a seven-branched candlestick, the others with figures of the paschal lamb, and all without exception are constructed after a fixed plan, which is totally different from that of any church, temple, or mosque in

* Narrative of Captain Wilson, R.E.

Palestine. If Tel Hum be Capernaum, this is without a doubt the Synagogue built by the Roman Centurion (Luke vii. 4, 5,) and one of the most sacred places on earth. It was in this building that our Lord gave the well-known discourse in John vi., and it was not without a certain strange feeling, that on turning over a large block we found the pot of manna engraved on its face, and remembered the words, 'I am that bread of life. Your fathers did eat bread in the wilderness, and are dead.' Round the Synagogue, and stretching up the great slope behind are the ruins of the ancient town, covering a larger extent of ground than we had ever been led to expect. The whole area, half a mile in length by a quarter in breath, was thickly covered with the ruined walls of private houses, amongst which we thought we could trace a main street, leading in the direction of Chorazin. At the northern extremity of the town two remarkable tombs were found, one constructed with limestone blocks below the surface of the ground, which must have been a work of great labour, as the hard basalt on the surface had first to be cut away; the other a rectangular building, capable of holding a large number of bodies, which is above ground, and appears to have been whitewashed within and without. It is possible this description of tomb to which our Lord refers in Matt. xxiii. 27, when he compares the Scribes and Pharisees to 'white sepulchres,' beautiful in outward appearance, but within 'full of dead men's bones.' A similar building may also have been the home of the demonaic at Gergesa.

"Before leaving Capernaum we cannot help drawing attention to the additional force and beauty which our Lord's words in Matt. xi. 23, derive by adopting the reading of the two oldest known MSS. of the New Testament (the Sinaitic and Vatican): 'and thou Capharnaum! shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt be brought down to hell.' There is a reproach conveyed in this question to 'His own city' which is lost in the rendering of the authorized version; and it is impossible to draw from it the fanciful conclusion that Capernaum was on a hill, as a late writer has done from the words, 'and thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven.'"

Although large quantities of pottery and other objects of permanent material have been found in the course of the excavations in Jerusalem, it is a noticeable fact that no specimen of ware has yet been found which can be pronounced to be from the workshop of a *Jewish* handicraftsman. The pottery found is arranged in the narrative in the following order:—

1. PHŒNICIAN POTTERY; these are vase handles chiefly, and are marked with the figure of a bird-like form, representing a winged sun or disc, probably the emblem of the Sun-God. The letters have been deciphered, and are translated thus;—"To or of King

Zepha, and King Shat; apparently implying royal use, or a priviliged manufactory. A royal establishment of potters existing at Jerusalem is mentioned in I Chron. iv. 23.

2. GRŒCO PHŒNICIAN POTTERY; these are most lamps of red or brownish ware, with one, two, or three lips, and seem adapted for the burning of the fat rather than oil. Lamps of this description have been found in the Island of Cyprus *(Chittim)*, and also in the semi-Phœnician tombs in the rocks of Ben-Gemmi, in Malta. Their date is supposed to be about the second century before the Christian era.

3. ROMAN POTTERY. The specimens, which are very few, consist of the so-called "Samian" ware, in the shape of lamps, jars, earthenware pipes for a bath east of Olivet, and fragments of a large amphora.

4. CHRISTIAN POTTERY. The Association possess a large series of lamps which are assigned to the Christian period. "The usual symbols of the Jerusalem lamps, which are all of a rude and cheap description, and which give an affecting indication of the poverty of the Saints of the early church of Jerusalem, are the cross, the very sign of their salvation, the seven-branched candlestick, which reminded them not only of the dimmed glories of Zion, but of Him who is the Light of the World; and the Palm Branch, which was dear to them not merely for its own exquisite grace and beauty, but by its association with Psalms xcii., and the Gospel narrative, John xii. 13, and with the Apocalyptic Vision, wherein the glorified saints are described as "clothed with white robes and palm branches in their hands," Rev. vii. 9.

5. ARABIC POTTERY.—Among the specimens are two or three pots covered with a green glaze, and numerous fragments of domestic use, but in all there is scarcely anything of importance. Of Arabic glass, however, three lamps were found of especial interest.

6. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.—Many other articles have been turned up, of varied uses and importance, the principal of which are—balls of flint and other stone, supposed to have been *mullers* for pounding grain, and part of them missiles to be hurled from a *balista;* round balls of stone, to be used as weights; a stamp, of soft stone, with Greek-lettered inscription, (somewhat similar stamps were used in making the eucharistic bread); small seal, of hard close-grained stone, with inscription in old Hebrew characters. It records the name of the owner, *Haggai, son of Shebniah.* This is one of the few *Jewish* objects discovered by the Society. Sepulchral chests, of the Christian period; also, objects made of metal, as, for instance, a bronze dagger; copper lamp-stand, apparently of the Byzantine period; and small Christian ring, of bronze; together with other objects of shell, ivory, and wood, but not of special interest except to the professional archæologist, have been added to the collection.

We conclude this compilation of extracts from this most interesting narrative with an abbreviated account of the Moabite Stone, than which scarcely any discovery has ever excited so widely extended an interest.

The circumstances of its discovery were very remarkable, and are briefly these:—"In August 1868, the Rev. T. A. Klein, an Anglican clergyman, attached to the Jerusalem Mission Society, was travelling to Jebel Ajloon and the Belka; he shortly arrived at Diban, the ancient Dibon. Here he was received with friendliness by a tribe of Beni-Hamideh, encamped near the ruins, and was informed by Zattam, scheikh of the Beni-Sades, who accompanied him, and by the friendly scheikh of the Beni-Hamideh, of the existence of an inscribed stone, which had been seen by no European whatever. Diban, being east of the Dead Sea, is a very inaccesible district, and the ruins in the country of Moab have never been thoroughly examined. The sun was setting as Mr. Klein arrived at the spot where this relic of antiquity was lying. He had no time to do more than take a sketch, with measurements of the stone, and a copy of a few words. It was, he says, *in a perfect state of preservation*, not one single piece being broken off; and it was only from great age and exposure to the rain and sun that certain parts, especially the upper and lower lines, had somewhat suffered.

"It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Klein did not take a squeeze, rubbing, or some kind of copy of the inscription. He formed, instead, the idea of getting the stone to the Museum of Berlin." The agents of the Prussian Government, it seems, after spending a good deal of time in fruitless efforts to obtain possession of the stone, at length obtained a firman for it. All this time no squeeze or copy of the inscription had been taken; its real value was quite unknown, and, in consequence of the protracted negotiations, the jealousy and greed of the Arabs were being roused more and more. During this time, also, Captain Warren, of the English exploring party, though he had heard of the stone, refrained from interference, in order not to stir up the cupidity of the Arabs. "Early in November, 1869, however, M. Ganneau sent down an Arab with instructions to obtain, if possible, authority to take a squeeze of the inscription. This was granted after some difficulty; but while the squeeze was still wet, a quarrel arose among the Beni-Hamideh, blows were exchanged, and M. Ganneau's messenger, had only time to spring upon his horse and escape by flight, bringing with him the squeeze in rags, and receiving a spear wound in the leg. After this, the Arabs lit a fire under the stone, and throwing cold water upon it, broke it into fragments.

Little could be done with the impression—the only one, such as it is, that remains of the complete stone."

Other squeezes were, however, afterwards obtained of the larger fragments of the stone; and certain smaller fragments also were brought to Jerusalem. After this attempts were made at translation of the inscription by M. Ganneau, and Mr. Deutsch. The large fragments were brought up by M. Ganneau, and small fragments by Captain Warren; and, out of one thousand letters, which at first were cut upon the stone, the number actually preserved amounts to six hundred and sixty-nine, or nearly seven-tenths of the whole; and there is hope that the whole may be ultimately recovered. As it is, in the words of the narrative, "the gain to palæography is enormous. It is, unquestionably, whatever the precise date of this king Meshu, the very oldest semitic lapidary record of importance yet discovered."

The following is a copy of the latest version, by M. Clermont Ganneau, published by the Count de Vogué; from which it will be seen that, on account of the imperfect materials in possession, a good deal of the rendering is conjectural.

VERSION OF M. CLERMONT GANNEAU.

I am Mesa, son of Chamasgad, king of Moab, the Dibonite. | My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I have reigned after my father. | And I have built this sanctuary for Chamos in Qarha (sanctuary of salvation), for he has saved me from all aggressors, and has made me look upon all my enemies with contempt. |

Omri was King of Israel, and oppressed Moab during many days, and Chamos was irritated at his aggressions. | And his son succeeded him, and he said, he also, "I will oppress Moab." In my days, I said, "I will . . . . . him . . . . and I will visit him and his house." | And Israel was ruined, ruined for ever. Omri gained possession of the land of Me—deba. | And he dwelt there . . . . (Ahab) his son lived forty years, and Chamos made him (perish) in my time.

There I built a Baal Meon and constructed Qiriathaim. | And the men of God dwelt in the country of (Ataro)th from ancient times, and the King of Israel had built the city of Ataroth. | I attacked the city and I took it, and I killed all the people of the city, a spectacle to Chamos and to Moab, | and I carried away from there the . . . . and I dragged it on the ground before the face of Chamos at Qeroith, | and I brought there the men of Saron (or of Chofen) and the men of Maharouth (?) And Chamos said to me, "Go, take Nebah from Israel." | I went by night, and I fought against the city from dawn to mid-day, | and I took it: and I killed all, seven thousand (men, and I carried away with me) the women and the young girls; for to Astar Chamos belongs the con-

secration of women; | and I brought from there the vessels of Jehovah, and I dragged them on the ground before the face of Chamos. |

And the king of Israel had built Yahas, and resided there during his war with me. | And Chamos drove him from before my face: I took from Moab two hundred men in all; I made them go up to Yahas, and I took it to annex it to Dibon. |

It is I who have built Qarha, the wall of the forests, and the wall of the hill. | I have built its gates, and I have built its towers. | I have built the palace of the king, and have constructed the prisons of the . . . . . in the midst of the city. |

And there were no wells in the interior of the city in Qarha: and I said to all the people, "Make you every man a well in his house," and I dug cisterns for Qarha for . . . . . of Israel. |

It is I who have built Aroer, and made the road of Arnon. |

It is I who have built Beth Bamoth, which was destroyed. | It is I who have built Boser which (is powerful) . . . . . Dibon, of the military chiefs, for all Dibon was submissive. | And I have filled . . . . . with the cities which I have added to the land (of Moab).

And it is I who have built . . . . Beth Diblathain, and Beth Baal Meon, and I have raised there the . . . . . the land. | And Horonaim, he resided there with . . . . . And Chamos said to me, "Go down and fight against Horonaim." | . . . . . Chamos, in my day . . . . . the year . . . . . .

The above is the extent of this most important record, as hitherto deciphered and translated. Professor Schlottmann divides the inscription into three parts; the first to the sixth section, inclusive of the victories of Mesa over Israel; the second, sections seven and eight, of the buildings and erections of the king; and the third, of a battle in the south, towards Edom.

The following passages in the Old Testament refer to this same people and country of Moab, and may be said to be confirmed by the inscription on the Moabite stone.

"Woe to thee, Moab! thou art undone, O people of Chemosh! he hath given his sons that escaped, and his daughters, into captivity unto Sihon, king of the Amorites."—(Numb. xxi. 26).

"And Mesha, king of Moab, was a sheep-master, and rendered unto the king of Israel an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams, with the wool. But it came to pass, when Ahab was dead, that the king of Moab rebelled against the king of Israel." (2 Kings iii. 45). Also, for further references to Moab, see Deut. ii. 9; Judges iii. 17; xi. 15; 1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Kings i. 1; xxiv. 2; 2 Chron. xx.; Isa. xv., xvi.; Jer. xlviii.

Dan. xi. 41; and Amos ii. 1, 2. It is evident that the rebellion of King Mesha, which the stone records, is that which occurred after the death of Ahab, as named in the passage of Scripture last transcribed above. It is an unexpected contribution to the history of a people long since passed away; to scholars acquainted with Assyrian and Phœnician literature, it brings a contribution of considerable importance to the history of alphabets; but—which to the Bible student is most important,—it brings with it a most valuable testimony to the truth of the historical contents of the Old Testament Scriptures.

Although besides this inscribed stone not many other important objects have been found, yet the aggregate of the discoveries is a most valuable contribution to Biblical criticism and Scriptural evidences. The trigonometrical survey which has been made, and the numerous photographs of noted places in Palestine already published, serve to bring the ordinary reader into the privilege of a much closer view of Biblical scenes. And not the least appreciable feature of the present work is the character for accuracy which it has already acquired; the want of an accurate topography of the Holy Land has been felt in the past; the possibility of errors in descriptions and maps is very great in the case of eastern countries, as is shewn in the following amusing instance. A traveller in going through Palestine was making notes of names of places and distances, and marking the same on a map of the district through which he was passing; on asking the name of one place, he was told in reply, "*Mabrafsh.*" On enquiring the name of another place further on, he received the same reply, "*Mabrafsh.*" These he noted down at the several places in the maps. But on making enquiry afterwards and receiving the same reply in several more instances, he began to think there must be some error in so many places being of one name. On enquiring as to the reason, he was astonished to find that the meaning of the word was "I do not know," and not in any case the name of a place.

As Englishmen, we have had the high honour of beginning this great work of exploration, and we trust we shall have the further honour of prosecuting and successfully completing it. The products, as yet, though important and invaluable, are but the first instalments of richer results to be brought forth in the future operations of the explorers; and we may confidently expect that to the private student of the Scriptures, as well as to the public exponents and defenders of Christian truth, more useful material will still be forthcoming. The gulf of time between our day and the first age of Christianity is yet but imperfectly bridged; and should the present explorations result in still further helping to "bridge the gulf," the value of such results to the Christian world will be incalculable, and the originators and supporters of the work will be worthy of the highest honour.

THOMAS PARKER.

ART. VII.—THE GENTILISM OF OUR LORD.

THE character of our Lord manifests that diversity of circumstance, of thought, of goodness which exists amongst the nations, and reveals that true unity of life and moral excellence into which all the kindreds of the earth shall ultimately be gathered. In the Old Testament the Messiah is exhibited under the most peculiar combinations of nature, character, and estate; and on this account many Jews believed in the existence or advent of two distinct Messiahs. He was to be both God and man—Immanuel; He was to stoop to the lowest level of humiliation and suffering, and yet was to be exalted to the most glorious estate; the kingdom which He should establish should be void of that pomp and pageantry which distinguish earthly empires, and at the same time was to surpass all others in catholicity, in unity, in happiness, and true sublimity. So also whilst the Jews were to be raised to special privileges and honours, the Gentiles were to be admitted to the blessedness and emoluments of His reign. This relation of the Anointed to the "nations" occupies a prominent position both in the Psalms and in Isaiah. To illustrate this last particular we need only select one Psalm, lxxii. The nature of Christ's kingdom, 4, 12-14; its vitality, 16; its extent, 8; the homage which should be rendered to Him, 10, 11; and the universal felicity of His spiritual subjects, 17. This truly missionary composition bears an exclusive ethnic aspect, and as such claims supreme interest in Him who was to be a light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of the people of Israel.

The New Testament reproduces this many-sidedness in the character of the Anointed, and affords the only means by which these conflicting elements can be combined into a perfect whole. The person of our Lord consisted of two natures. He was very God of very God, and very man of very man. We may exclaim *Ecce Deus! or, Ecce Homo!* but to behold the Godman aright we must contemplate Him in His twofold nature, and observe the outworkings of that hypostatic union as they ultimate in the divine glory and human well-being. So with the life of our Lord; it possesses two units, each of which retained its sphere of operation, and harmonized with that profounder duality to which we have just adverted. These two factors are Judaism and Gentilism, within which the hemispheres of the human family are embraced. In Jesus these principles found a theatre of manifestation, and a perfect homogeneity; and on this account He becomes the Head and Representative of the entire race, the perfect Ideal of humanity.

In Scripture, the terms Jew and Gentle denote the descendants

of the twelve tribes, and all other peoples; they, therefore, make up the totality of our race. The term Jew applies to only one branch of the Adamic family, whilst the term Gentile embraces many nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues. The Saviour was of the "stock of Abraham:" "of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came." St. Paul furnishes us with a noble pedigree, "Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews;" but there is one particular in which the genealogy of Christ was more Jewish, so to speak, than that of Paul. Of him it might be written,—circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of *the tribe of Judah*, an Hebrew of the Hebrews. To Judah belonged the sceptre and the lawgiver, and in the royal tribe the national life pulsated with greater vigour. The very essence of this tribe centred and embodied itself in Him, so that the Judaic element to be found in our Lord was of a profounder nature, exhibiting a purer type, and synchronising with the instincts and aspirations of the Israel indeed. The question arises, Was Jesus nothing more than this? Does this description comprehend and exhaust all the activities of His life? If not, we may deny the all-inclusiveness of the Jewish elements in Christ's character. It was specific, clear, sharply-defined; but in this fact lay its one-sidedness and limitation. Jesus was both the root and offspring of the son of Jesse. David's Lord as well as David's son combined in Him. He constituted the glory as well as the form of Jehovah's temple. The Judaism of Christ's character was but the veil concealing the holy place where shone the brightest light, and where burnt the purest love for a guilty world. The peculiar people will have it that the Messiah must be a Jew in birth, in country, in thought, in sympathy, in purpose; that as the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so should these national characteristics exclude him from the outer world, and confine his activities to a small section of our race. The Jews may be permitted to entertain such messianic views, but we have no part or lot in the matter. Such a messiah is not our Messiah. We do not complain of a specific Judaism existing in our Lord, inasmuch as it was natural, necessary, perfectly congruous. The incidence of his birth, his early associations, his country, his religious training, would each and all give a deeper colouring and a stronger intensity to his thinkings and his actings; but what we complain of is, the attempt to sum up the whole of Christ's life into one integer, to connect one well-defined hemisphere into a complete sphere, to represent a specific aspect as the normal and universal mode of that character, to sink the general in the particular, to lose sight of the "Son of man" in the "Son of Joseph." It may be impossible to detect any ethnic characteristic in the life of our Lord in the same sense and to the

same extent as we discover the Jewish element: time, place, mode, purpose, were wanting; but this obscuration or deficiency does not imply the total absence thereof. During his brief ministry indications are not wanting of his deep and tender interest in "strangers and foreigners." When occasion required, we detect the outcome of a solicitude and a purpose, the rising above mere tribal or national proclivities, the adoption of a course of action which was as far removed from a Hebrew type as are the poles. It is this dual aspect of Christ's life that strikes us with peculiar force. In no other human being have these two principles been so intimately blended, or exhibited with such fulness and power; the cultivation of the one has generally led to the neglect or to the detriment of the other. Garibaldi is probably one of the finest specimens in whom the love of country and the love of mankind unite. But no one would compare the Italian liberator to Jesus Christ for breadth, and loftiness, and force of character. Whilst Jesus was an intense Jew, he was an intenser man. He was all that the most loyal and devout Israelite could desire, and yet he was the most complete embodiment of ethnic manhood. In Him qualities existed which constitute Him at once the Rose of Sharon, and the desire of all nations. Had Christ's Judaism absorbed his Gentilism, then to us he would have been as a root out of a dry ground, unable to elicit our sympathy, our gratitude, or our admiration. On the other hand, had Jesus appeared more of a Gentile than a Jew, he would have wanted one of the most powerful and distinguishing characteristics of complete manhood, viz., nationality. If, then, Judaism did not cover the entire intellectual and moral area of our Lord's nature, it is not all-inclusive, but leaves considerable space in which "aliens" can find their home and consolation. If one arm embraced the Jew, the other encircled the Gentile. He was patriotic, but his patriotism was based on philanthropy. To the Jew he seemed as a Jew; to us he appears as a man. Whilst He was the Son of Mary, He was also the "Son of Man." To them that were nigh, his character wore a partizan aspect; to us, who are afar off, it is viewed as cosmopolitan. If Jesus wept over Jerusalem, it was but typical of that spiritual anguish with which he contemplated that moral ruin in which a world was involved. We shall probably discover beneath this dualistic aspect of our Lord's character a basis of universalism, a moral substratum, that is one and indivisible; but, as a stream issuing from a spring, may divide and pursue different courses, so from the fount of a unified and perfect personality, the stream of Christ's life irrigates those Jewish and Gentle wastes through which it flows.

Nor is the teaching of Christ destitute of this peculiarity. He was annointed "to preach the gospel to the poor, to preach

deliverance to the captives, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." The first clause refers to the indigent Jews; the second, to the nation as bound beneath the oppressive yoke of ceremonialism; the third, to the human family as about to partake in that spiritual jubilee—in that accepted time and day of salvation which he proclaimed. Between the first and second existed the difference of condition; between the second and third that of nationality. This latter distinction is brought out through the Saviour's teaching. Now the attributes of Christ's preaching were spirituality and universality. The platform which he occupied was unlimited by class, period, or place. His teaching was of a moral and spiritual nature, and included the entire human race within its range. In those doctrines which the great teacher enunciated as the basis and perfection of his kingdom, no differences exist—no supremacy is permitted, except the supremacy of goodness. They contemplate man in a state of ruin, salvation, glorification. To all classes and conditions of men they address themselves, "one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren." The teaching of Jesus, then, was of a profoundly philosophical cast—not indeed couched in philosophic nomenclature; but possessing a vitality, an interest, a coherence, a symmetry, and a grandeur of purpose such as the fathers of heathen thought never dreamed of. If, then, the radical idea of commonness ("common salvation") permeates the doctrinal and ethical system of Christianity, any deviations from this principle may be regarded as accidental and temporary, rather than essential and permanent. In the course of his ministry Jesus occasionally leaves these higher walks of thought, and touches questions of a secondary nature, questions which related to Judaism, questions which possessed scarcely any point or significance except to his own countrymen. Such divergence from the general tenor of his teaching was doubtless prompted by a regard to his own nation, and was intended to connect those political religious matters which threatened the national life and religion. Take the following instances, (1) On the current Sabbatarianism (Mat. xii. 1-8); (2) On the pernicious nature of "the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees" (xvi. 6-12); (3) On the Mosaic marriage law as it stood related to the resurrection (Mark xii. 18-27); (4) On the obligation of the nation to the Roman authority (Luke xx. 25). We admit that these points may be interesting to us, but to the Jews they are doubly interesting. By a Jew they were delivered, to Jews they were addressed, in the then existing conditions of Jewish life would they find their proper sphere, and realise this true interpretation. Whilst the "teacher come from God" thus accommodated himself to his own people, there existed a strong prejudice in the Jewish mind against the heathen participating in similar benefits. Was it misconception, or

ridicule, or jealousy that prompted the enquiry, "will he go unto the dispersed among the Gentiles and teach the Gentiles?" Did the leading Sectaries regard Christ as a wild visionary, who trusted to secure for himself great popularity amongst the benighted borderers or were they moved with envy, lest the outlying *ethnoi* should share in the blessedness of his ministrations? During the Saviour's journeys it is possible that he may have *taught* the Hellenes. On the occasion of our Lord's visit to the National Sanctuary "there were certain Greeks among them that came up to worship at the feast." These strangers were doubtless acquainted with the one true God through the Scriptural version of the Hebrew Scriptures, and may have heard or have witnessed some of Christ's miracles. Something more than curiosity awakened the request, "Sir, we would see Jesus." We are not informed that they were favoured with a private audience, but the profound, the interesting, the evangelical truths which Jesus propounded in their hearing, were eminently fitted to arrest and captivate the Hellenistic mind. It is said of Messiah that he should "speak peace unto the *(goyim)* heathen" (Zak. ix. 10); and St. Paul writes of him that he "came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh" (Eph. ii. 17). In that inimitable pastoral Jesus says, "And other sheep I have which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice" (John x. 16). Why should it be thought incredible that our Lord should preach to the *goyim*? If he preached personally to them that were nigh, he must, by implication, have preached personally to them that were afar off. As the sheep in the Jewish fold listened to his call, why may not his (*alla probata*) "other sheep" have heard his personal, living voice? But the ethnic element in Christ's teaching comes out more distinctly in his parables. In these pictorial discourses there is discoverable a specific interest in the Gentiles, and a distinct recognition of their spiritual enfranchisement. See on the parable of the marriage of the King's son (Mat. xxii, 1-14); on the Vineyard (Mark xii. 1-9); on the Supper (Luke xiv. 16-24). This setting of these apples of gold in pictures of silver may have been adopted as the least offensive way of imparting unpleasant truths. Moreover, the messianic prophecy recorded in Mat. xii. 17-21, met its partial fufilment in the then existing condition of things. The historian says, "That it *might* be fufilled," may we not say that it *was* fulfilled? The character, and miracles, and ministry of our Lord bore a direct and personal relation to those outside the Jewish pale. He showed judgment to the heathen. Instead of being sad and turbulent in the midst of misconception and opposition, he preserved an equability of temper and of aspect. Rather than break the bruised reed of pagan hope, or extinguish the smoking flax of Gentile goodness, he would, and did, by the

breath of his own mouth, fan those dying embers into an ardent flame; and in his name should the Gentiles trust.

Again, something may be deduced from the visits which our Lord made. We cannot say that the Messiah ever entered into a purely heathen city. The popular belief may be, and probably is, the correct one, namely, that the journeyings of the Saviour never extended beyond the Holy Land. Yet it may be difficult to prescribe the exact territorial limits, or to say that Jesus travelled so far, and no farther. We know that the boundaries of Canaan underwent enlargement and contraction. The border tribes made frequent and successful incursions into the land, and in turn were besieged and driven out. So far as we can ascertain, the sacred narrative affords no evidence that our Lord ever crossed the frontiers; but on the contrary, it assures us that his visits were confined to the triple portions of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. Necessity was laid upon him for so doing. "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Evidently the sphere of his mission was circumscribed. The divine purpose forbad the infringement of that condition, and the perfect submission of the Son to the Father's will guaranteed that that limit should be faithfully observed. But in the commission which Jesus gave to the twelve, the stringency of this prohibition was somewhat relaxed: "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not: but go *rather* to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." (Mat. x. 5, 6.) The apostles were to give the preference to their own countrymen. In their evangelistic labours they might enter into the way of the Gentiles, or into the city of Samaria, if such lay in their route; but their attention had to be chiefly directed to their own towns. The insertion of the word "rather" implies comparison and not absoluteness. See Mat. vi. 30. This comparative term forbids the drawing of a hard and fast line. If the twelve were absolutely prohibited from entering into heathen villages, how are we to explain the implication of both Jew and Gentile in one common doom? After indicating the sufferings which the disciples should endure in their itinerancy, the Saviour declared, that they should be "for a testimony against them and the Gentiles." There must have existed some identity of circumstance, and some community of guilt, otherwise the condemnation in both cases could not be similar. But let us turn to our Lord. Whilst he was born in Bethlehem, he was brought up in lower Galilee, that some ancient prophecy, of which we have no record, might be fulfilled, "He shall be called a Nazarene." Many of his disciples were selected from Galilee, and in the northern portion of Palestine the greater number of his miracles were wrought. We ask ourselves, Why this choice? It seems that the Saviour cared but little for Jewry. To him the

sanctuary was the chief object of attraction. Upon him rested the obligation of appearing before God in Zion, otherwise his visits to the southern portion of the Possession would probably have been few and far between. One would have thought that the King of Israel would have spent most of his time in, or about, the capital, that his Judaic sympathies would have attached him more firmly to the royal city, that he would have mingled more freely with the purer type of Hebrews. We enquire, Why this estrangement, this studied absence, this apparent want of interest in his own people? This feature in Christ's character impinges on his patriotism, and appears to invalidate his claims to be the Liberator of his country. Was it from *pique* that Jesus withdrew into the border land, or was it from a desire not to compromise the constituted authorities and to precipitate his mission, or did it arise from a sincere and generous motive to publish his gospel to the nations? We have seen that the "I am not sent" effectually barred his entrance into pagan towns. His filial obedience secured the inviolability of that imposition, yet would his loving heart suggest a course by which he might preach peace to them that were afar off, and still preserve the prescribed limit of his mission. Upper Galilee was called "Galilee of the Gentiles," not merely from the fact of its contiguity to the outlying world, but because large numbers of heathen emigrants had settled in those parts. These foreign residents had married amongst the Jewish population, and so formed a mixed race. Amongst this mongrel people Jesus found a home to shelter him, and hearts to love and appreciate him. In these disloyal localities most of his mighty works were wrought. There he proclaimed the gospel of the kingdom of God, and contracted friendships which were pure and lasting. Capernaum, Bethsaida, Chorazin, the towns of Cæsarea Philippi, and the borders of Tyre and Sidon constituted the link that united the Saviour to the pagan world, the stepping stone from which the messenger of glad tidings might pass to the nations beyond. This fact relieves the life of our Lord of its intense Judaism, imparts to it a Gentile aspect, and invests his person with a character and a mission which border on universalism.

Looking at Jesus from the standpoint which we have taken we would naturally expect to find in his miracles an occasional reference to the Gentiles. If the ethnic element comes out under other conditions and aspects of the great Biography, we may look for its displaying itself, incidentally, and rarely it may be, yet sufficiently distinctive and pronounced, to shew that He still held the heathen in loving remembrance. The law of proportion holds good in this as in other particulars to which we have adverted. Whilst a preponderance of miracle-working powers—operative in favour of His own people, an occasional sign

or wonder was wrought on behalf of the stranger, thereby relieving the character of our Lord of a monotonous partiality. The healing of the Centurion's servant at Capernaum is evidential of Christ's interest in those outside the pale of the theocracy. This soldier's character presents a striking contrast to that of the nobleman whose son was at the point of death. If the internal evidence of the inspired narrative is of such a nature as to produce the conviction that the latter was a Jew, the same kind of test will yield the conclusion that the former was a Gentile, probably a Roman. When Jesus entered into the borders of Tyre and Sidon, "a certain woman, whose young daughter had an unclean spirit, heard of Him, and came and fell at His feet; the woman was a Greek (Margin, Gentile), a Syrophenecian by nation." Here is a woman of pagan extraction appealing to the sympathy and humanity of Christ on behalf of her child. The Saviour gave her to understand that it scarcely comported with His mission to favour the dogs at the expense of the children; yet her faith triumphed over every difficulty, wrested the blessing of her child's cure from Him who was ever willing to bestow, and revealed an aspect of our Lord's life which is ever dear to us who occupy the extremities of the kindom of God. A peculiar passage is found in Luke vi. 17-19. Here a distinction is made in the great multitude; part came out of Judea and Jerusalem, and part from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, to be healed of their diseases. We apprehend that the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon embraced a portion of the western coast of Phœnecia, and was washed by the Mediterranean sea. From these maritime localities numbers came to Jesus to be healed of their maladies. In the miracles which were performed upon the great multitude no difference was made on account of nationality. Those from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, as well as those from all Judea and Jerusalem, shared in the same blessings. Phœnecians as well as Jews were treated alike: He "healed them all."

T. P.

ART. VIII.—THE MYSTERIES OF CHRISTIANITY NO INVALIDATION OF ITS TRUTH.

MYSTERIES are things hidden from our understanding; not revealed, and not comprehensible. They are things over which a veil hangs, a supernatural veil. We speak of secret things; but a natural veil is over them, while mysteries are supernaturally covered. They cannot be grasped by the human faculties; they

lie in depths to man unfathomable. The occult sciences are secrets known only to few persons; their principles and truths are hidden from the many, and are undiscoverable by them. But though they are secrets they are not mysteries, because they can be known.

Nature has untold secrets in her. They are there undiscovered; but some of them are no mysteries, because they are within the reach of man's intellect. Not a few of them that were hidden things long ages ago have been brought to light. Philosophic research has penetrated the natural veil by which they had been covered, and now they are known. But while, both in nature and revelation, there are many hidden things that will in future be brought to light by mental effort, yet they contain mysteries which lie far beyond the province of human reason.

It is not uttering altogether a truism to many when we say there is a great difference between secret and mystery. A secret is knowable, and is actually known to some persons; but it is unknown to others, and may be equal to a mystery to them. But mystery, being past finding out, is quite distinct from secret, as conventionally understood. God has his secrets: they are the many deep things that have not the least manifestation in nature, and are not so much as even hinted at in the revelations of his will. Of course we know something about mysteries when they are made known to us as facts and truths. We simply known they are facts and truths, but such as we cannot understand. Though we know them as facts and truths, yet, as they outsoar our comprehension, they remain mysteries still.

Now, most of the fundamental facts and doctrines of our holy religion are great mysteries. In that book which is a transcript of the mind of God, we are made acquainted with them as truths; but inasmuch as they are connected with the workings of the Infinite One, they transcend the utmost stretch of human thought.

One of the most common grounds that Infidelity has taken against the Christian religion is the rejection of it because of many things in it which are incomprehensible. Infidelity has said, surely a religion which commands the belief of mankind upon pain of everlasting penal consequences should be most easily understood: but its fundamentals are mysteries, and therefore it ought to be rejected. This assumption overlooks the fact that it is a necessary law of mind, to receive truth upon the testimony of God; and the other important fact, that our every day credence concerns mysteries. The assumption in question is utterly absurd, and is deservedly rejected by common sense, common reason, common experience, and common faith. Our senses, our reason, our experience, our very being have to do with mysteries. And to ignore Christianity simply on account of the inscrutable things it contains, things that are far among the unsearchables of divine wisdom, is the greatest folly.

We now proceed to notice a few of the Christian mysteries.

1st. Christianity teaches the first great truth that there is a God. It recognises the existence and authority of an Infinite Being. It says, God is, and that he rules in the universe of matter and of mind. The Infinite One must be incomprehensible except by himself. How can the finite understand the Infinite? And is man, in the feebleness of his reason, to say there is no God, because he cannot understand the mysteries of the divine existence and attributes? That God is, all nature testifies, and revelation confirms the testimony, though we cannot comprehend Him. In our conception the word infinite is negative only; for we merely express by it some idea to which we cannot give bounds. When we ascribe the idea of infinite to God, we confess (in an implied sense) that we are unable either to define or comprehend the idea; and we mean it is beyond all that is finite; that however profound and enlarged are our ideas of the Infinite God, yet he still infinitely transcends all our conceptions. Take, for instance, the attribute of omnipresence. When we speak of things being bounded by time and space, we mean space in a relative sense, and time as part of eternity. Things are great or small relatively. The tiny pearl-like dew-drop of morning, on a flower's leaflet, is an ocean to the invisible inhabitants thereof, and a forest leaf is a continent to the living creatures it contains. We can form no conception of universal space. When we say that God fills immensity, and that he is everywhere present, we, after all, only convey a negative idea: for the fact that the idea of something bounded by time and space may suggest to us the idea of something that is not so bounded, is no proof at all that we have a positive idea of that boundlessness, or that we comprehend the immeasurable. To us infinite space is unlimited, boundless space; infinite duration is timeless, or endless duration. Hence the metaphysical conception of the infinite as applied to the presence of God is not positive, but simply unlimitedness,—that is, his presence is boundless and without end. If we contemplate the Divine Being as existing before the universe was, we cannot ascribe omnipresence to him, since no *omne*, or whole, existed then, to which he could stand in relation. The presence of the universe is a fact: and the very idea of God's omnipresence is suggested to our minds by the presence of the universe. We cannot in any degree approximate to an understanding either of the immensity or omnipresence of God. We are not to understand that the divine essence is diffused through infinite space, like air over earth or water over the sea, because God, being a spirit, is not composed of parts; but the whole Deity is equally present in every part of infinite space, and in every moment of eternal duration. Observations of a similar nature could be made respecting other attributes of God. We cannot by searching find him out, nor

comprehend the Almighty to perfection. Such knowledge is too wonderful for us; it is higher than heaven and deeper than hell. What can we know of it? It is nothing less than madness, then, for a man to deny the existence of Deity because he cannot be comprehended. Yet such is the position that infidelity has often taken against Christianity.

The genius of a converted South Sea Islander was far superior to the infidel philosophy that spurns the Christian religion because of its mysteries. He said, "When I look at myself I find I have got hinges all over my body. If I want to lay hold of any thing there are hinges in my hands and fingers. If my heart thinks, and I want others to think with me, I use the hinges in my jaws, and they help me to talk. I could neither walk nor sit down if I had not hinges to my legs and feet. All this is wonderful. None of the strange things that men have brought from England in their *big* ships are to be at all compared to my body. He who has made my body has made all the clever people who have made the strange things which they bring in ships, and he is the God whom I worship But I should not know much more about him than that he is a great hinge maker if the men in their ships had not brought the book they call the Bible. That tells me of God who made the heart of man likewise, and when I hear how the Bible tells of the old heart, with its corruptions, and the new heart and right spirit which God alone can create and give, I feel that his work in my heart and his work in my body fit each other exactly. I am sure, then, that the Bible, which tells me these things, was made by him who made the hinges of my body; and I believe the Bible to be the word of God." This was manly reason and true philosophy. The divine nature or essence, besides being unknown to us, has properties different from anything else of which we have any knowledge. It has no analogy within the compass of nature, and therefore must remain a mystery. God is unsearchable, and yet our intuitions, the light of nature and the book of revelation, bid us believe in him.

2. The origin of evil is a mystery. The question has often been asked, Whence came evil? How came sin to be? How was it that God left an open door for its entrance into existence? These are hard questions, and volumes have been written on them. How to account for the origin of evil has been the puzzle of ages; and the question is no nearer settlement now than it ever was. Some have said evil could not be avoided if creatures with freedom of will were created. Others have said God determined that evil should exist, though he abominates it, and it is absolutely opposite to the infinite purity of his nature, of which his holy law is but a faint exponent; and others again have said that evil has existed as the means of greater good. We cannot but consider these positions

as bold, speculative conjecture relative to a most difficult and solemn subject. If man were created a moral agent he could have avoided sin. If moral evil could not have been avoided by him, he was no moral agent, but a mere machine, made to do what he has done. The same may be also said of the angels that fell. The Scriptures do not clear up the difficulty. It is shrouded in mystery. We see there *is* evil. It is among the works of God. Its origin, however, stretches into a night of darkness which no light dispels. Its poisoned foot has been planted on the earth, but its head turns into clouds of impenetrable mist and darkness. No light from nature dissipates those dark clouds, and revelation leaves them unscattered. The Bible tells us of the fact of the origin of evil; but as to how it came to exist is a mystery, an impenetrable veil hangs over it. As far as this world is concerned, sin is traced to the serpent, or Satan. But how came there to be a Satan? It is said he is a fallen angel; and how came he to fall? When he who is now Satan was one of the first born sons of light, in his blaze of glory before the throne of God—a happy, holy being—how came sin out of holiness when there was no sin to tempt and no tempter, for God tempteth not with evil? There was nothing to tempt and no tempter in the case. How could sin then get into heaven, the abode of the infinitely holy God and holy angels? The more we question on this topic, the farther back goes the problem, and it remains unanswered.

The only probable solution that we can arrive at is that angels as well as men had a probation; that, as moral beings, they had some test of obedience; as they had power to obey or disobey they could keep their first estate or fall from it. Still there is difficulty. When angelic intelligence and purity were hand in hand, and when at the same time there was no sin, no sinful being, and never had been; when there was nothing but perfect purity in which God had created all moral intelligencies, how could sin come from that holiness? or how could anything originate opposite to God? This, we believe, is a question that will never be satisfactorily solved in time. But though a mystery it is a fact that sin did originate. It still has tremendous existence, and in testimony of its presence, from every part of this sin-cursed earth there is ever rising a groan of agony.

3. Christianity embraces the doctrine of the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, the undivided unity of three persons in one God. Revelation tells us of Father, Word, and Spirit, Father, Son and Holy Ghost; but the mode of their union is a profound mystery. And so of the incarnation of Christ. We are plainly told in the Scriptures that God was manifest in the flesh; that "the word was made flesh," and dwelt among men; that Jesus was Immanuel, God with us God and man united. Now I can under-

stand the fact of God incarnate, when it comes to me as a matter of revelation. I can take it as a fact, and credit it upon the Divine testimony. And so with the Trinity in unity; but the *modus operandi* of the union of God and man in the person of Jesus Christ, and of three persons of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit being one God are mysteries. Yet am I to say that these doctrines are not truths, but myths and mere phantasies, because I fail to comprehend them? No. Rather let me acknowledge the feebleness and contractedness of my own understanding, and receive with implicit faith the testimony God has given of Himself and of His Son Jesus Christ.

4. The resurrection of Christ is a mystery. The New Testament says, "He rose from the dead the third day." According to the Scriptures, He did not see corruption. Mark, there is a peculiar meaning in the phraseology, "He rose." His resurrection was not by a delegated power, but by His own power. That which is dead *is* inert, powerless, utterly destitute of energy. Now Christ actually died, and in reference to the absence of spirit from the body, He said to the dying thief, "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." He died and was buried, and yet he rose again. But there was no one to go to his epulchre, as he went to the grave of Lazarus, command the stone to be taken away, and then utter the omnific words, "Come forth." No. But He rose notwithstanding; though dead He rose in triumph; spoiling the power of Hades, He "led the monster death in chains." The resurrection of Christ is the greatest, grandest miracle of the Bible, and a fundamental fact of Christianity. Despite the precaution of the Jews, the sealed blockade of the sepulchre, and the military watch, He rose from the dead as He had declared He would when alive. How the life of Christ could and did return after being dead three days; how his body could recover vitality and spring from the sepulchre, while all human efforts to prevent His resurrection were confounded we know not. But it is a fact, attested as much as any fact that comes down to us in historic records.

5. The doctrine of the general resurrection of all mankind is also a mystery. Christianity says this resurrection shall take place. The greedy sea, which has long entombed myriads of the human race, shall yield them up again; though their flesh has been devoured by the living creatures that inhabit the sea, and their bones buried or petrified for ages in ocean's bed, yet they are to come forth. The graves also over all the face of the earth must open and disgorge their contents; and notwithstanding the bodies of men since the grave received them have passed through a thousand assimilations, been the prey of worms, changed into some form of the earth's crust, or absorbed into vegetable matter, and again absorbed into animal substance; notwithstanding all, they are to rise with such

identity as to be identical individuals that once lived and acted on the great stage of human life. What a mystery! yet, why should it be thought a thing incredible that God should raise the dead?

6. Eternity, and heaven, and hell are mysteries. Who can comprehend eternity? It is incomprehensible duration, because infinite duration. It is duration to which there is no analogy within the whole compass of nature. It is, therefore, what we cannot know. All that we can know of it here, and all that we can conceive that we can know hereafter, will only be that it is eternity. But with the greatest reason we can believe there is eternity, because we have the fact on the authority of God.

And as to the destinies of eternity—heaven and hell—we cannot understand them fully. We know not what concerns them, but by revelation. We are acquainted only with what is revealed respecting them; and even revelation has to borrow words, facts, and representations from within the range of our present knowledge, in order to give us any adequate conceptions of what pertains to those future states. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him." And as to hell, how many fallen spirits and lost souls are there, what are the peculiarities of their states, what constitutes their misery, what employs their faculties, what are the media of their operations, &c., are all mysteries. But to say they are figments, that they are but the creations of man's unbridled imagination, prompted by groundless hope or fear, and that the Christian religion, which owns them as doctrines, is undeserving of credit, because we cannot comprehend them, is puerility, and absurdity and folly combined.

7. That the human mind is acted upon by the Spirit of God, and by other spiritual beings, is also a great mystery. It is a doctrine of Christianity that the Divine Spirit has an access to the human spirit; that it strives with man's spirit, that it speaks to his inner being—his mind and heart—and that it is the agent of his moral regeneration, of his being born again, and of his spiritual redemption; that the Spirit of God can dwell in man, as the generator and sustainer of divine life, and bear its witness to his spirit of salvation from sin and its curse. Also, it is stated in the Christian Scriptures that the evil spirit—Satan—the devil, has access to man's mind to tempt and induce opposition to God; that man, as a moral agent, can co-operate with or resist the influence of the Holy Spirit; and that he can acquiesce in, or resist the temptations of the spirit from beneath. We know not by what way and means there is this spiritual contact, operation and co-operation. Nor can we discern the how and wherefore mind has affinity with mind, or explain the subtle spiritual influence which like an all pervading atmosphere encircles the whole realm of

mental phenomena. And yet a great deal of what the Bible teaches, ounsels, and warns, concerning moral duty, obligation, and character, is based upon this doctrine of spiritual influence.

These are some of the sublime mysteries of our holy religion, which are presented in the Scriptures requiring the full acceptance of our faith. Their grandeur and importance infinitely transcend all other subjects within the range of our knowledge. They are truths above reason, given by pure revelation on the testimony of God.

Let us now consider the unreasonableness of the scepticism that attempts to invalidate Christian truth on account of its mystery. In Scripture we have many plain things. Everything necessary to duty, and everything essential to salvation are very plainly revealed. We do not find things necessary to be plain enveloped in mist and obscurity. The Christian mysteries are such, because it is not in the nature and constitution of man to know them. Yet they are no less truths on that account. If we cannot form full and clear ideas of certain great Christian truths, it is not because of the absurdity in them, but from the limitedness and weakness of our understanding. We can comprehend that God necessarily exists, and must have existed from eternity; but we cannot comprehend His being, any more than we can measure out the ocean, or weigh the mountains in scales. Who can say that the transcendent truths of the Bible are contrary to reason? They are simply above reason. They transcend thought's utmost effort and imagination's highest flight; therefore they are mysteries which it is unreasonable to disbelieve.

Human reason can only be the standard of truths which do not exceed its own capacities. To require all difficulties removed from the truths of revelation is equal to presuming to comprehend God, and to understand all His plans of creation, providence and redemption. To make man's mind the ultimate court of appeal, is absurdity so glaring and great that it is offensive to common sense. But he does this who rejects revelation on account of its mysteries.

Whatever is the measure of a thing must be equal to the thing measured; therefore the mind that can be the judge of a thing must be equal to the thing judged. To say that man should be able to understand all that revelation contains is to make him the measure of revelation, equal to the thing measured, the judge equal to that on which he pronounces judgment; which of course would be to make human comprehension the standard of revealed truth; and to say that God must not be expected to reveal anything but what plainly comes within the range of man's intellect.

How much better is it freely to acknowledge and bow to the truths of revelation, as we do to those in nature; and, as we strug-

gle upward to gain ever enlarged views of truth, gazing all the while at the mysteries which far overtop our understanding, humbly exclaim, "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me, it is high, I cannot attain unto it! There it no searching of his understanding! Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised, and His greatness is unsearchable!" Mysteries are inseparable from Christianity, because it is a revelation from God, whose understanding is infinite.

The Great First Cause, the constitution of rational intelligences, the principles of moral government, the origin and existence of evil, the Divine agency, the Agency of God in connection with man's agency, what that agency has to do with the formation of moral character, the redemptive scheme through the mediation of Jesus Christ, and the realities of an everlasting state, are truths we receive on the Divine testimony. When a truth comes to us on the authority of God, and we have no valid reason to disbelieve that it is on His authority, it must and will be received by the intellect. And why? Because a necessary law of mind affirms God's veracity. The point to settle relative to any truth that comes on the Divine testimony is not whether it is a truth, but whether it is from God. If a truth be ever so much superior to reason, if it be utterly beyond the mind's intuitive power either to affirm or deny what God declares, such is the nature of mind that it must be received. If any man says he does not receive it he speaks falsely. If it be clear that truth has really come from God, he cannot help but receive it. The law of mind demands its reception. All within him echoes to the power of God-announced truth, and if he be an unbeliever, his infidelity is utterly irrational.

Look now at the inconsistency of this scepticism. We believe in natural mysteries, and in mental and moral ones; and therefore to be consistent, supernatural mysteries must be admitted, unless we deny the possibility of revelation. Those who indulge in the scepticism that objects to Christianity in consideration of its mysteries, take a license in this respect which they do not observe in reference to other subjects. Shall God be less marvellous in His word than He is in our physical and mental constitution, and in the vast universe He has formed? If the possibility of revelation be admitted it is most inconsistent to ignore Christianity on account of its mysteries. Does not all analogy say that if there are incomprehensible things in nature we must expect the same in revelation, inasmuch as the creator of the one is the author of the other. If finite minds could comprehend all the doings of the Infinite Mind, God would be no longer God, because no longer the Incomprehensible. Since the works of God are so thickly shrouded in mystery, it is inconsistent to feel disappointed and fear at the shadow of mystery in His word. Mystery in nature is enough to silence for ever (on the ground of consistency) all objection to mystery in Christianity.

That the world exists, that vast myriads of worlds of different magnitudes exist, performing their revolutions without collision, from age to age; that they hang as it were upon nothing, notwithstanding their vast bulk and weight; and that their rotations are performed with the utmost regularity and harmony, are facts which we all believe. But they are mysteries. We do not and cannot understand the cause, the mode, the philosophy of the acts. We credit them notwithstanding.

There are mysteries everywhere around us. We believe in the existence of matter and spirit. We believe also in motion, in force, in attraction, gravitation, the laws and combinations of chemistry, and in many other natural phenomena. But who can explain what matter is? We know not the essence of matter; we call matter of certain properties and colors by certain names; but all we can say is, that it is matter, presented to our apprehension in specific forms. And what of spirit or mind? Can any more be said about it than that it is the opposite of matter, that it is without parts, and not obvious to the senses; and that it is the repository and vehicle of reason and intelligence; but all this, and much more that could be said, is unspeakably far from explaining what mind is. And what of force and magnetism, and electricity? Can they be explained? No. Then they are mysteries, though known as facts and truths. Were we to withhold our assent till we could get satisfactory answers as to what they are, we must ever deny their existence. The only candid reply we can give to these questions is, we don't understand the essence of these things. Nor can we account for the tiny blade of grass on the green sward, or the little field-daisy, or any of our garden flowers with their variegated hues and pleasant odours, or for the smallest leaf on the forest trees. They are all mysteries.

And we are mysteries to ourselves. How our physical organization could be put together, and made instinct with life; how food can be converted into flesh, blood, bones, ligaments, nerves, and other constituents of the body, and give new supplies to wasted animal fibre occasioned by the functions of life, and at the same time cause bodily development and growth, we know not. How it is I can sit, stand, walk, or do any action according to volition, the decision of will, and how thus in a thousand ways mind is made to act on matter, I cannot tell. And as to life, too, it is a great mystery. Who understands and can explain it? The principle of life has been sought for on the supposition of its being something visible. It has been sought for in the brain, in the blood, in the heart, and in other parts of the animal system; but it has not been found. It is a mystery. And yet there is such a thing as life. It is a fact that we live, and that fact is a matter of self-consciousness. How gross and glaring then

is the inconsistency of attempting to invalidate Christian truth on the ground of mystery, when our own being, and when the elements, constitution and nature of things about us are all involved in mystery.

The mysteries of Christianity are a strong argument in favour of its truth. It is the province of reason, as we have noticed, to receive the facts and doctrines of Scripture as revelations from God, notwithstanding their mysteries. If man could fathom the depth of Scripture it would be pronounced a shallow book, and destitute of all claims to being a production of the Infinite Mind; and there is the highest probability that those persons who now spurn Christianity for its mysteries, would be among the first to ignore it for having nothing in it but what was easily to be understood, nothing indicative of greatness surpassing man, nothing as the shadow of infinity. There is one special feature imprinted on the works and word of God, viz., the stamp of superiority to man, the stamp of greatness and wisdom surpassing human conception —the impress of an infinite mind. God's doings are on a scale, and of a nature that adumbrate his infinitude. The facts of nature are mysterious, though quite obvious to the senses. They are all around us, and we cannot do otherwise than admit them as proofs of infinite intelligence and power. The great facts upon which Christianity rests are mysteries, and as in this particular there is perfect harmony between the works and word of God, ought we not to take the mysteries of Christianity as a collateral proof—though of itself not sufficient—yet as a strengthening proof of common authorship in nature and revelation? Certainly. Then the mysteries of Christianity, so far from invalidating the truth of Christianity, support it, and strengthen the general conclusion that it is from God.

Infidelity has often talked of the mental weakness and easy credulity of Christians. In its pride of intellect and philosophy, and we may say pride of conceit, too, it has looked down upon the gospel as foolishness; but the whole charge of weakness and credulity rebounds on its own head. There never was a more unreasonable credulity than that of unbelievers in the Bible.

Paul's was one of the noblest intellects. For breadth, acuteness and force, his indeed was a master spirit; and his mind was well furnished, for he had been brought up in all the learning of the Jews at the feet of Gamaliel. Yet how he gloried in the Christian mysteries. Relative to the incarnation of Christ, he said, "Great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, and received up into glory." At Athens he declared to Greek philosophers Jehovah the unknown God, and preached Jesus and the resurrection, while they in proud infidelity

exclaimed, What will this babbler say? He also says to us all respecting the resurrection, "Behold, I shew you a mystery. We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality." Paul's mighty and well stored intellect accepted these great mysteries. Many of the greatest and brightest minds have bowed before the grand old doctrines of the Bible. But there is not any wonder in that, as in doing so they have but displayed the common reason of common life, because they could not fail to see that in the mysterious, as well as in the plain truths of the Christian religion, there is the strongest argument in support of its divinity, inasmuch as God's thoughts are not as our thoughts, nor His ways as our ways, but as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are the ways of God above the ways of man in redemption's mysteries.

> "Redemption is the science and the song
> Of all eternity. Archangels, day
> And night, into its glories look. Saints
> And elders round the throne, old in years
> Of heaven, examine it perpetually,
> And every hour get clearer, ampler views,
> Of right and wrong; see virtuous beauty more;
> See vice more utterly depraved and vile,
> And this with more perfect hatred hate,
> That daily love with a more perfect love."

This world needs the Christian religion. Man is hungering and thirsting for the bread and water of life; and what folly to refuse to eat and drink of the needful living truths God has revealed, simply because some of them are mysteries. We do not refuse to eat bread because its chemistry is a mystery, nor to drink water for the same reason. They are as much mysteries as some of the great doctrines of Christianity; for we cannot understand the growth of fruit and grain, nor their organization, their digestion, nor nutrition; and were we to refuse to eat till we could comprehend them, we must perish for want. Had the Israelites refused to eat the manna that came from heaven till they could have understood how it was produced, they must have perished in the wilderness. And if men despise Christianity, if they spurn it from them as the means of spiritual life, they must as a consequence perish.

THOMAS CROMPTON.

Canada.

remount to heaven. What good was it to trouble himself for so little? He knocks gravely at the door of the Infinite, and says, 'Open; I am Dante.'"

Who, then, was this man Dante, whose self-appreciation has been thus immortalised in his own verses? He was, according to Villani, an honourable and ancient citizen of Porto San Pietro at Florence, descended from a Guelfic family, and he became one of the supreme governors of the city. Originally belonging to the party to which his ancestors were attached, he subsequently favoured their opponents, the Ghibellines, and proved ultimately, indeed, a violent partizan of the cause of the later, with whom he withdrew from Florence in 1301, when Charles of Valois entered; and with that party he consequently suffered banishment. He then visited Bologna, and other cities, "being," says the chronicler, "a great and learned person in almost every science, although a layman; he was a consummate poet and philosopher, and rhetorician, as perfect in prose and verse as he was in public speaking, a most noble orator, in rhyming excellent, with the most polished and beautiful style that ever appeared in our language up to this time or since." Besides his poems which Villani mentions, Dante wrote the "Monarchia," where he treats of the office of popes and emperors, and also some fragments of a work entitled "De Vulgari Eloquentia." Of his personal bearing, his biographer scarcely gives a satisfactory picture. "This Dante," he says, "from his knowledge was somewhat presumptuous, harsh, and disdainful, like an ungracious philosopher; he scarcely deigned to converse with laymen; but for his other virtues, science, and worth as a citizen, it seems but reasonable to give him perpetual remembrance in this our chronicle." Such to his contemporaries Dante appeared as a student; the distance between the man of genius and the vulgar was never more strongly marked. Boccaccio bears a more sympathising testimony. "Our poet," he says, "was of middle height, and after reaching mature years he went somewhat stooping; his gait was grave and sedate; always clothed in most becoming garments, his dress was suited to the ripeness of his years; his face was long, his nose aquiline, his eyes large rather than the reverse, his jaw heavy, and his under lip prominent; his complexion was dark, and his hair and beard thick, black and crisp; and his countenance was always sad and thoughtful. . . . . His manner, whether in public or at home, was wonderfully composed and restrained; in all his ways he was more courteous and civil than any one else." We may add that the famous Giotto painted his portrait, a fresco, once visible in the chapel of the Podesta in Florence, but afterwards covered with whitewash. It was not until 1840 that the crust of the plaster was removed from the walls, and underneath was found the long-hidden likeness of

Dante. A fac-simile drawing was made, which passed into the hands of Lord Vernon, and is now the only existing authentic portrait of the poet.

On the departure of Dante and the Ghibbeline party from Florence, they were considered as rebels, and had their persons condemned and their property confiscated. Madonna Gemma, the wife of Dante, saved some of her husband's property, including his MSS., which were contained in chests with other precious things. The existence of the 'Divina Commedia' is attributed to this wifely care; but this, and another legend, in regard to the preservation of the great poem, are discredited by Boccaccio.

Dante died in banishment; this event happened in the city of Ravenna, in Romagna, after his return from an embassy to Venice for the Lords of Polenta, with whom he had resided. He had failed in his mission, and the failure, it is supposed, broke his heart. Nevertheless his efforts were appreciated; for they buried him in Ravenna, before the door of the principal church, 'with high honour, in the habit of a poet and great philosopher.' When late-repentant Florence begged the ashes of her sage and bard, Ravenna refused. His tomb in this city 'is now the chief magnet which draws foreigners and their gold to Ravenna.'

The manuscript copies of the 'Divina Commedia' made during the fourteenth century, and now existing in the libraries of Europe, are said to be more numerous than those of all other works; and between the invention of printing and the year 1500, more than twenty editions were published in Italy, the earliest being published in 1472. During the sixteenth century there were forty editions, during the seventeenth only three; during the first half of the nineteenth at least eighty. The translations of it are almost numberless; many English versions have appeared within the last seven years, and the rage for new ones still continues.

Dante's ancestors, being Guelfs, had been twice expelled by the Ghibbelines from their home, as the poet was afterwards expelled by the Guelfs themselves. 'Seeing that he could not return,' says Boccaccio, 'he so much altered his mind, that there never lived a fiercer Ghibbeline, or a bitterer enemy to the Guelfs, than he became. And that which I feel most ashamed at for the sake of his memory is, that it was a well-known thing in Romagna, that if any boy or girl, talking to him on party matters, condemned the Ghibbeline side, he would become frantic, so that if they did not be silent he would have been induced to throw stones at them; and with this violence of party feeling he lived until his death.'

Such is a brief record of Dante's outer life; what his inner life was we must gather from his poems. We are here met with a difficulty *in limine;* for Dante's poetry is not of the kind that is readily understood, or meant to be so. On the contrary, it requires in-

terpretation; and even challenges admiration by reason of its obscurity, and of the many senses in which it may be apprehended. Now, there was an undoubted practice in preceding contemporary and even subsequent poets, of veiling their meaning by pretending the passion of love, while they really intended by it liberty, civil or religious, or both; thus they carried on and promoted the ends of a political cause without exciting the suspicion and vigilance of those in authority. Dante, indeed, in a letter to Can Grande della Scala, writes of his poem in these words: "It is to be remarked that the sense of this work is not simple; but, on the contrary, one many say manifold. For one sense is that which is derived from the letter, and another is that which is derived from the things signified by the letter. The first is called literal, the second allegorical or moral. . . . The subject, then, of the whole work, taken literally, is 'the Condition of Souls after Death, simply considered.' For on this, and around this, the whole of the work turns. But if the work be taken allegorically, the subject is 'Man: how by actions of merit or demerit, *through freedom of the will*, he justly deserves reward or punishment.'" To this may be added a third meaning, in Dante's use of historical characters, who are introduced both as the real persons whose names they bear, and also as allegorical ones representative of moral or intellectual powers or principles. The first of these is Love, or Liberty, whereof the prime condition is that 'freedom of the will' which Dante writes of in the letter just cited, whether we consider it in its erotic or political sense. The political in Dante's poem includes the religious; for his politics are those of a Church Catholic. His aspirations as a reformer were prudently disguised under the symbol of the most beneficent of the heathen deities, the offspring of the celestial Venus.

It has been asserted that by Love Dante meant no more than this; but Dante himself, while acknowledging the political and religious references in his poems, claims to trace his noble aspirations, whether patriotic or pious, to the root of a real passion, the history and object of which he has recorded in a series of sonnets, accompanied with a prose explanation. There is a psychological truth in the position claimed, and also a moral one, which not only entitles it to credit, but commands our reverence, both for the passion that regenerated, and the man who was purified by its influence. We have used the word 'regenerated' here, advisedly; for by the 'Vita Nouva,' the title of his poem, Dante, it is generally supposed, means a new life, or a regeneration, holding the same relation to the intellectual or literary man, as the 'new-birth' holds in reference to the spiritual or religious man—making him, as it were, a new creature, by the introduction of new motives of conduct, new principles of action, and a

supervened character not previously manifested. The individual is, so to speak, 'clothed upon' by a divine influence descending from heavenly places for the consecration of the human being. Even such a change Dante esteemed needful to constitute a man a poet; and this change he describes with philosophical precision in the series of sonnets and commentaries to which allusion is made.

Dante was a precious lover, and the incidents of his amour have been interpreted with an irreverent levity by a popular critic, who, being a poet himself, ought to have known better. Far be from us any such misrepresentation of the soul-history which Dante has unveiled for the edification of generous minds. Dante was born 1265, and met with the object of his passion for the first time in 1274, on the first of May. He was then nine years of age, the young lady eight; the latter was familiarly known as Beatrice, but had for surname that of Portinari, being the daughter of old Folco Portinari, a distinguished citizen of Florence. Dante, in the story of his early life, gives no account of the merry-making, of which Boccaccio ventures a description, but introduces his heroine simply, with no circumstance but that of her attire, stating that 'her apparel was of a most noble tincture, a subdued and becoming crimson,' and that 'she wore a cincture and ornaments befitting her childish years.' 'From that time forth,' he adds, 'I say that Love held sovereign empire over my soul, which had so readily been betrothed unto him; and through the influence lent to him by my imagination he at once assumed such imperious sway and mastery over me, that I could not choose but do his pleasure in all things.' Yet was the influence to which he was subject of such noble sort, that at no time,' he says, 'did it suffer me to be ruled by Love, save with the faithful sanction of reason.' Dante loved wisely, not too well; he was neither a Mark Antony nor an Othello, and held his will in subjection to his conscience. An interval of nine years elapsed, during which the lovers never met; but afterwards he became known to her, and received her frequent salutation, which so confirmed his love that his heart was devoted to the adored one for ever, albeit, he never appears to have directly revealed his passion to its object; nay, took such steps to conceal it, by feigning an affection for another lady, whom he used as 'a screen,' that all the world believed him to be in love with a different person, and Beatrice herself at last came to be of the same opinion. The result was disastrous. Meeting her subsequently with other ladies at a marriage feast, Dante was exposed to their ridicule, in which Beatrice joined, deeming him either a love-sick dreamer, or a faithless lover. The immediate effect of this on Dante's mind was serious. He 'returned home into the chamber of tears, weeping and blushing;' yet, in his mood of sadness, he determined to address some lines to her, explanatory of the reason of his emotion. They compose the following sonnet:—

'With other ladies thou dost flout at me,
Nor thinkest, lady, whence doth come the change,
That fills my aspect with a trouble strange,
When I the wonder of thy beauty see.
If thou didst know, thou must for charity
Forswear the wanted rigour of thine eye;
For when Love finds me near thee, he so high
Dominion takes, and scornful mastery,
That on my trembling spirits straight he flies,
And some he slays, and some he drives away,
Till he alone remains to gaze on thee.
Thence am I changed into another's guise;
Yet not so changed, but that the pangs with me,
Which tortured so those exiled spirits, stay.'

It is difficult to believe that Beatrice, previously to the time when this sonnet was written, had married. Dante, we think, in that case would not have written it. Nowhere, indeed, does the poet record the fact of her marriage. We learn it only from her father's will, in which she is named as the wife of 'Domini Simonis de Bardis.' She died, too, at the early age of four and twenty. Be this as it may, Dante in all his works has totally ignored the circumstance. He devoted three sonnets to an analysis of his state of mind. From these we may learn a great deal of the manner in which he contrived to utilize his private feelings for his poetic ends. This point, however, is more fully illustrated in subsequent sonnets, which show his habit of making his love the feeder of his fancies, and cherishing it not so much for the sake of its object, as for the poetic fruit which it produces. Perceiving this æsthetic benefit, he resolves to make his Beatrice henceforth the theme and heroine of his poetry, and improves every incident so as to elevate to an ideal her name and his love. She now becomes no less than Madonna, esteemed both in heaven and on earth, and so favoured by her Creator, that—

'Whom he grants to gaze on her must grow
A thing of noble stature, or must die;'

and the whole affair begins to partake of an exclusively subjective character. Thus, in Dante's estimation, love and the gentle heart are the same; they can no more be separated, than reason from the reasoning soul; his throne, too, is within the eyes of Madonna, 'whence all she looks on wears his 'gracious mien.' Whatever happens, interests from its suggestion more than from itself. Thus the father of Beatrice dies. The grief of the daughter appears to have been excessive. Dante inquires of her ladies concerning her sorrow, and he is so affected by the recital that they cannot help remarking that he 'weeps for all the world as if he had seen her, as they had done.' All this, of course, leads to the composition of sonnets, and thus to the introduction of a little fiction into the story. 'Seeing,' says

Dante, 'the occasion to be worthy, I determined to write some lines which should embody all that I had heard these ladies say. And as, but for the fear of provoking their rebuke, I would fain have asked some questions of them, *I dealt with my theme as though I had actually asked them, and they had answered me.*' On the occasion of Beatrice's own death, the amount of fiction added is even more extensive.

Dante falling ill, on the *ninth* day suffered the climax of pain, and overwhelmed with dismay, began to think that Beatrice must some time die, and thereupon to see strange visions of women with dishevelled hair, who then announced his death and hers. The sun was darkened, and the stars became visible, and of a colour that made him think they wept; also the birds as they flew by fell dead, and the earth quaked fearfully. A friend came next, and advised him of Beatrice's departure. 'Thereupon,' adds Dante, 'I fell to weeping most piteously, and I wept not in imagination only, but with my eyes, bathing them with veritable tears.' A multitude of angels singing gloriously, *Osanna in excelsis*, and winging their way upwards, bearing a white cloud, were then seen; and Dante fancied that he went to view the body of his dead lady, and saw women covering her head with a white veil. All the requisite mysteries having been completed, Dante gave himself to grief, calling on death, and sobbing forth the name of Beatrice. Some ladies who were watching him during his delirium, then wakened him, and received from him an account of his vision, in which, however, he concealed the name of the departed. These particulars Dante then detailed in a beautiful canzone. After this he had a vision of love and of ladies, and compares his lady Beatrice to the former, describing her as a miracle :—

> 'A being, seeming sent from heaven among
> Mankind, to show what heavenly wonders be.'

So purely subjective was the matter which served for the occasion and substratum of Dante's earliest compositions. His feelings, thus engendered and supported, naturally expressed themselves in verse rather than in prose; he could sing them far better than he could state them.

Carlyle, indeed, makes Dante's main title to the character of a poet, the circumstance that he was incapable of fitly describing his feelings in that which he regards as the preferable medium. On his verse our cynical critic casts unusual contempt. Except from its positive necessity, it were scarcely endurable. It is merely "prose cramped into jingling lines, to the great injury of the grammar, to the great grief of the reader, for the most part." But surely such is not the true ideal of verse, not that of Dantean

verse, of which the writer of "L'Ottimo Comento" had heard Dante himself say, that "never a rhyme had led him to say other than he would, but that many a time and oft he had made words say in his rhymes what they were not wont to express for other poets." Dante was conscious that he was a great singer, and Carlyle indeed allows his rights or privileges as a poet on this special ground, that "the heart of him is rapt into true passion of melody, and the very tones of him become musical by the greatness, depth, and music of his thoughts." We can, therefore, "give him right to rhyme and sing; call him a Poet, and listen to him as the heroic of speakers—whose speech *is* song." In all senses, the Divine Comedy is "genuinely a song. In the very sound of it there is a *canto fermo;* it proceeds as by a chant. The language, his simple *terza rima*, doubtless helped him in this. One reads along naturally with a sort of *lilt*. It could not be otherwise, for the essence and material of the work are themselves rhythmic. Its depth and rapt passion and sincerity make it musical; go deep enough, there is music everywhere." Whatever may become of other versifiers, therefore, Dante was, and is, and will be for all time, justified in his use of metre and rhyme.

The following comic episode from the *Inferno* will shew that Dante delighted to expose the Pope to ridicule. It is from the XXVII Canto, where one of the Fiery Tongues there described thus tells its own story:—

I was a man of arms, then Cordelier,
Believing thus begrit to make amends;
And truly my belief had been fulfilled,
But for the High Priest, whom may ill betide,
Who put me back into my former sins;
And how and wherefore I will have thee hear.
While I was still the form of bone and pulp
My mother gave to me, the deeds I did
Were not those of a lion, but a fox.
The machinations and the covert ways
I knew them all, and practised so their craft,
That to the ends of earth the sound went forth.
When now unto that portion of mine age
I saw myself arrived, when each one sought
To lower the sails, and coil away the ropes,
That which before had pleased me then displeased me;
And penitent and confessing I surrendered,
Ah woe is me! and it would have bestead me;
The Leader of the modern Pharisees
Having a war near unto Lateran,
And not with Saracens nor with the Jews,
For each one of his enemies was Christian,
And none of them had been to conquer Acre,
Nor merchandising in the Sultan's land,

Nor the high office, nor the sacred orders,
In him regarded, nor in me that cord
Which used to make those girt with it more meagre;
But even as Constantine sought out Sylvester
To cure his leprosy, within Soracte,
So this one sought me out as an adept
To cure him of the fever of his pride.
Counsel he asked of me, and I was silent,
Because his words appeared inebriate.
And then he said, "Be not thy heart afraid;
Henceforth I thee absolve; and thou instruct me
How to raze Palestrina to the ground.
Heaven, have I power to lock and to unlock,
As thou dost know; therefore the keys are two,
The which my predecessor held not dear."
Then urged me on his weighty arguments
There, where my silence was the worst advice;
And said I, "Father, since thou washest me
Of that sin into which I now must fall,
The promise long with the fulfilment short
Will make thee triumph in thy lofty seat."
Francis came afterward, when I was dead,
For me; but one of the Black Cherubim
Said to me, "Take him not; do me no wrong;
He must come down among my servitors,
Because he gave the fraudulent advice,
From which time forth I have been at his hair;
For who repents not cannot be absolved,
Nor can one both repent and will at once,
Because of the contradiction which consents not."
O miserable me! how I did shudder
When he seized on me, saying, "Peradventure
Thou didst not think that I was a logician!"
He bore me unto Minos, who entwined
Eight times his tail about his stubborn back,
And after he had bitten it in great rage,
Said: "Of the thievish fire a culprit this;"
Wherefore, here where thou seest, am I lost,
And vested thus in going I bemoan me.
When it had thus completed its recital,
The flame departed uttering lamentations,
Writhing and flapping its sharp-pointed horn.

Abridged from British Quarterly Review.

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Promise of the Father: Thoughts on the Mission of the Holy Ghost, and its relation to the state of the Church and the World. By GEORGE TURNER, Wesleyan Minister, author of "The Divine Validity of Infant Baptism by Sprinkling," &c. London: Calder and Co., Bathurst-street, Hyde Park.

THE doctrine of the Holy Ghost in its practical bearings on man is discoursed of in this small volume with fulness, combined with brevity, — a rare combination. Wisely eschewing metaphysical speculation, the author sticks to the teachings of the Bible as the only reliable source of instruction; and it is really surprising as this book shows, that a vast amount of Scripture statement bears directly or indirectly on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. Less elaborate than Owen, Howell, and Hare, on the same subject, this work embraces everything in it of essential importance, and is altogether better fitted than the works named for the general run of readers. While specially adapted to nourish the life of God in the soul of man, and therefore suitable as a companion for the Christian in his hours of devotion, it may also be of service to the minister in his study, not only as a help to secure that Divine baptism so essential to the success of his ministry, but as suggestive of many rich and precious thoughts worthy of being incorporated into the texture of his sermons. The style of writing is clear, straightforward, and manly, and the method is at once simple and comprehensive. With confidence we recommend the book to our readers.

Thine and Mine: or the Lord's Portion of my Property. By the Rev. G. MIDDLETON. London: G. Lamb.

GENERALLY speaking, Christians are woefully at fault in their giving, or, we should rather say, their *not giving* to the support of God's cause. Illiberality is the rule, liberality the exception in all the churches. There is scarcely anything that Christians contribute to more penuriously and grudgingly than to that cause which they profess to love dearer than life. The whole question of giving requires to be more thoroughly canvassed and brought to bear upon the mind and conscience of the churches. The book before us, which deals faithfully and fearlessly with this question, is needed, much needed; and we hope it will be extensively read.

The Garden. Conducted by WILLIAM ROBINSON, Author of "Alpine Flowers," "The Wild Garden," &c. London: W. Robinson, 37, Southampton-street, Covent Garden.

THIS is a new serial, profusedly illustrated with beautiful wood cuts, and printed on fine paper. Its literary character is also of a high order, quite superior to the common run of illustrated papers. To persons of horticultural tastes this serial will prove attractive and instructive.

THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR.

ART I.—DR. JOHN BROWN, OF EDINBURGH.*

> "As he was of the Pauline type of mind, his
> Christianity ran into the same mould."—*The Scotsman.*

MEANWHILE, Mr. Brown's zeal in the study of biblical science was unabated. He also commenced a weekly class for students of his own, and of other congregations, for the reading of the Greek Testament. As he possessed extraordinary powers of attracting students, by his preaching and conversational talents, this class was attended by great numbers of young men, some of whom rose to occupy important stations in different sections of the Church, and in distant quarters of the world. Among the students may be mentioned John Brown Patterson, Dr. William Cunningham, Principal of New College, Edinburgh, Dr. A. S. Patterson, and Dr. David Brown, of Aberdeen Free College.

During the course of Mr. Brown's ministry at Rose Street he compiled a number of tracts on the Gospel ministry, under the title of *The Christian Pastor's Manual*; and another series entitled *The Mourner's Friend.* He wrote three essays for Collin's series of *Christian Authors*, one on Systematic and Biblical Theology, prefixed to Maclaurin's *Essays and Sermons*; another on the True Theory of the Sacraments, prefixed to Henry's *Communicant's Companion;* and a third on the Distinction between Natural and Christian Ethics, prefixed to Venn's *Complete Duty of Man.* These papers, especially the first and last, are written in the more abstract and philosophical style, which marks his review of Robert Owen, and contain many fine and deep thoughts. He also wrote a brief memoir, prefixed to a volume of Remains of the Rev. Alexander Fisher, of Dunfermline, a young minister who had been a member of the Rose Street congregation. The only other publication by Mr. Brown during this period was called forth in 1828, by the Apocrypha controversy. He went cordially

* Concluded from page 16.

along with Dr. Andrew Thomson, and the more zealous protestors against the London Committee of the Bible Society, in reprobating the circulation of the Apocrypha on the Continent as a help to that of the Bible, in demanding that it should cease. This was published under the title, *Statement of the Claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society on the Support of the Christian Public.* As the London Society had by this time brought their measures into perfect harmony with the convictions of their Scottish supporters, Mr. Brown, in this pamphlet, pleaded their cause with much cordiality, and nothing more able or temperate appeared on that side of the question.

In the summer of 1826, Mr. Brown visited Ireland, as a delegate of the Scottish Missionary Society. A gratifying incident was an interview with Miss Edgeworth, at Edgeworthstown. This lady he thanked, in the name of his children, for the instruction and pleasure she had afforded them. He was most painfully impressed by the contrast of Irish life, and his general estimate of the religious state of the country, notwithstanding the favourable exceptions he met with, was strongly tinged with depression and despondency.

Dr. James Hall, the first minister of Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh, had died in November, 1826. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Brown, and sometime afterwards published. The congregation of Broughton Place formally called Mr. Brown to become their pastor; and, after a considerable interval, the Synod decided in favour of his translation. The venerable Dr. Peddie, the unshaken friend of Mr. Brown from youth to age, presided at his induction to Broughton Place Church, on the 20th of May, 1829. It was the commencement of a ministry which lasted nearly thirty years, and was enriched by the ripest fruits of study and Christian experience. The outward success of Mr. Brown in Broughton Place Church was from the first decisive. By the end of 1830 the number of members had risen from about 600 to more than 1,000, and it continued to rise to an average of about 1,200; and the place, which contained nearly 1600 sittings, was almost uniformly full. As Mr. Brown held strict views of Christian fellowship, the amount of labour in the requisite examinations for membership was very great. The audience he preached to embraced not only an invariable quota of students, armed generally with their Greek Testaments, and perhaps, a constantly augmenting number of educated, refined intellects, but much likewise of the solid worth and vigorous intelligence that mark the religion of the Scottish middle and lower classes.

In the autumn of 1830, Mr. Brown received from Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, the degree of D.D. He was neither one of those who courted, nor of those who decried such distinctions.

American degrees would have ranked higher had they always been as worthily bestowed. One very advantageous service it rendered to him was, discriminating him from his predecessors of the same name, a distinction so much needed, that it has been hard for the present writer to resist the temptation of giving him his honorary title from the beginning of this paper, so as to save awkwardness and confusion.

The chief ornament of Mr. Brown's discourses was, happily quoted Scripture. The niceties of metaphysics, and the resources of rhetoric, he left to those who were less in earnest. All sentimentalism and affectation in the pulpit were abhorent alike to his religious feelings and to the masculine simplicity of his nature. Strong and emphatic, even to vehemence, as was his assertion of the doctrines of Christianity, he inculcated good works with equal fervour, and explained them with a philosophical precision and accuracy somewhat rare in Scottish preaching. His discourses before the administration of the Lord's Supper were invariably of an elevated and inspiring character. These occurred once every two months, the greatest approach made by him in practice to what he held in theory, the weekly celebration of the Communion. The effect of these sermons was heightened by the presence of the communicants in one compact body, in the lower part of the church, and by their *simultaneously* partaking of the ordinance—a deviation from the old Scottish custom since widely followed.

The spiritual results of Dr. Brown's ministry at Broughton Place is beyond all human power to calculate. Many instances are known, to prove how extensive must have been the entire operation of his ministry as a means of commencing the spiritual life. One instance or two we give:—When the Rev. James Dalgleish, of the London Missionary Society at Berbice, was ordained in Broughton Place Church, in which he had been brought up, he furnished a narrative of his religious experience, such as is required by the Society on these occasions. He stated that the words of Dr. Brown, uttered with a vehement earnestness, "A just God and a Saviour—that's what the sinner needs," had come home to him as with power from heaven, and had been the means of his conversion.

Another case is authenticated by a lady, who conducted Dr. Brown to visit a servant girl, from Orkney, dying of consumption in Edinburgh Infirmary. She had previously declared that Dr. Brown was the instrument of her conversion; and she repeated in his presence the testimony which was supported by a consistent life, and a happy death.

A different kind of an impression was sometimes produced. On one occasion a woman called on him, on a Monday, in a state of high

displeasure, to complain that on the foregoing day he had publicly called her a hypocrite. Dr. Brown disclaimed all such personality; but the woman warmly rejoined, "You need not deny it, sir, for you looked straight at my face when you said it."

The early years of Dr. Brown's Broughton Place ministry coincided with a great expansion of missionary effort in the Secession Church, and his congregation was one of the first to give the impulse. In 1835 his congregation assumed to itself the support of one foreign missionary, also a mission agent at home. An interesting mission church in Jamaica was gathered from emancipated negroes, and called after the parent church—New Broughton.

Each branch of the Secession, before the union in 1820, had been satisfied with a single Professor of Theology, who carried his students over the whole round of divinity, in sessions of nominally eight weeks each, extending through a period of five years. The manifold defects of such a system seem to have been but faintly recognised, until a remarkable pamphlet appeared from the brilliant pen of the Rev. John Jameson, of Methven, in 1822, entitled "Observations on the Mode of Conducting Theological Tuition in General Use, with a Plan humbly submitted for the Divinity Hall belonging to the United Associate Synod." It struck at the defects of the current system with a vigour and clearness perfectly irresistible. Its opening sentence is characteristic of the quaint but nervous style in which it was written. "In England, ten men are allotted to the making of a pin. In England, one Professor of Divinity only is allotted to the making of a minister. This, perhaps, may be safely stated as one of the reasons why, if you compare a row of pins with a batch of ministers, merely as an article of manufacture, the latter are evidently so much inferior; showing, in the bulk, neither the same head, nor the same point, neither the same soundness and mass of firm texture, nor the same general and exquisite finish." It was not, however, till 1825, after a very lengthened discussion, that one new professor was added. In 1833, Dr. Brown, who had most cordially supported Mr. Jameson, strenuously exerted himself, and not without success, to obtain a more complete reorganization of the system. After the fullest discussion, in two successive Synods, it was decided in 1834 to have four professors. As a just tribute to Dr. Brown, he was elected to the chair of Exegetical Theology, for which his studies had so eminently fitted him.

Dr. Brown entered heartily into the work of theological instruction; and the qualifications he displayed in his academical prelections were of the highest order. He had bestowed deep attention upon the sacred tongues in which the Scriptures were written, and upon the versions, ancient and modern. In his library, which contained several thousand volumes, he had the principal editions

of the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament, the latter of which he began to collect, from the time he was fourteen years of age, till ultimately the series embraced about a hundred—from Erasmus to Tischendorf. In the department of annotations, scholia, and commentaries, the exegetical treatises of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and of the schoolmen and later Romish authors, and of the writings of the Reformation period, with those produced by all the succeeding diversities of Protestantism, at home and on the Continent, his learning was vast and boundless. He had also a fine collection of classics, which he read to the last. His English literature was chiefly that of the dead, his days were with them. His acquaintance with forgotten books, from the buried folio to the extinct magazine, continually astonished those who best knew his resources. His library in the department of theology could only be compared to that of Sir William Hamilton in philosophy; and he could give an account of any subject in any book. We called upon him on one occasion to inquire on a special point of Jewish history, and the all-but forgotten volume, containing the desired information, was referred to in an instant. And with gratitude we remember his liberality in furnishing us with books, on the subjects we required, from his splendid library. He was as particular and nice in the dress of his books as in the dress of his person. The original Salisbury edition of "The Vicar of Wakefield," stained in well-known passages with old tears, was one of the last of his pet books which he put into Heyday's best. Dr. Brown had great sympathy with book-buyers. Two gentlemen met him in the office of one of his friends, the one known to him, the other a stranger. The latter happened to leave, and the other remarked that he had thoughtlessly spent a large fortune. "I am sorry for that," was Dr. Brown's answer. The conversation was still pressed, and it was stated that the fortune had been squandered in the reckless increase of a library. Dr. Brown lost patience, rose to his feet, and, making his bow, said, "Good morning, sir; there are worse ways of spending money than buying books." Dr. Brown was fully fifty years of age when his appointment as Professor of Exegetical Theology was confirmed. He taught, in all, twenty-four sessions, and probably not much less than a thousand students passed under his hands. Some of these were from foreign countries, and some connected with other sections of the Church. An account of the lectures delivered by him, which formed the staple of his course, is contained in his admirable opening lecture in 1841, which he published under the title of "Hints to Students of Divinity."

His affectionate ways with his students were often very curious; he contrived to get at their hearts and find out all their family and local specialities, in a sort of short-hand way, and he never forgot them in after life. While watching him, with them, at tea, speak-

ing his mind freely and often jocularly upon all sorts of subjects, one got a glimpse of that union of opposites, which made him so much what he was—he gave out far more liberally to them the richness of his learning and the deep thoughts of his heart, than he ever did among his full-grown brethren. Though authoritative in his class without any effort, he was indulgent to everything but conceit, slovenliness of mind and body, irreverence, and, above all, handling the word of God deceitfully. On one occassion a student having delivered in the Hall a discourse doctrinally not up to the mark, Dr. Brown said, "That may be the gospel according to Dr. Macknight, or the gospel according to Dr. John Taylor, of Norwich, but it is not the gospel according to the Apostle Paul; and if I thought the sentiments expressed were his own, if I had not thought he has taken his thoughts from commentators without carefully considering them, I would think it my duty to him and to the Church to make him no longer a student of divinity here." He was sometimes unconsciously severe, from his saying exactly what he felt. On a student ending his discourse, his only criticism was "The strongest characteristic of this discourse is weakness;" this was all he said. A young gentleman on very good terms with himself, stood up to pray with his hands in his pockets, and, among other things, he put up a petition that he might "be delivered from the fear of man, which bringeth a snare." The Professor's only remark was that there was part of his prayer which seemed to be granted before it was asked.

Dr. Brown strongly inculcated veneration for the Bible. To him it was all the word of God, the supernatural utterance of Divine thoughts in the fittest speech; hence all notions of its inspiration that could be described as mechanical were most alien from his mind. He had the rare gift of throwing his mind into sympathy with the sacred writers, and could survey the text as if it had never been trodden down under the host of commentators. As an expositor he was deaf to the charm of tradition, and could set aside the most venerable and time-hallowed misinterpretations without mercy. Nothing was more common from him than the sentence passed on some current interpretation, "This is truth, important truth, and truth taught elsewhere in Scripture, but not *the* truth contained in this passage." He frequently announced the more curt definition of an interpreter's business, *Expositio non impositio.* In searching out the very sense of Scripture, in order to bring out the mind of God from his own word, he contributed powerfully to develop an exegetical conscience in his students, and to give a more simple and Biblical cast to the theology of the denomination. "Dr. Chalmers," he observed, "has hit the true key-note, not what *thinkest* thou? but what *readest* thou?" Dr. Brown was occasionally unsparing in his criticism on books of misinterpretation.

He used to recite, with much enjoyment, the verdict passed by a contemporary divine on Dr. John Taylor's *Key to the Epistle to the Romans*, which professes to open it:—"The poor man gave the key a violent wrench, and behold it moved; but it was not the door that was opened, it was only the lock that was broken."

Dr. Brown was particularly careful in selecting the best books for the use of his students. In 1838, during our station in Edinburgh, we had our first interview with Professor Brown. In passing along Leith Walk we happened to turn into Mr. Paterson's—the bookseller's—shop. He was just opening his London parcel, and turned out and handed to us a fresh Oxford reprint of the fifth edition of Professor Moses Stuart's Hebrew Grammar. We remarked that it was a mistake in Dr. Pusey reprinting the *fifth* edition, when Professor Stuart had issued his *sixth* edition, considerably improved. "That cannot be," said Mr. Paterson, "this is the author's last edition." We replied we have the sixth American edition in our house. Mr. Paterson then said, "If it would be no inconvenience to you, sir, would you let me see the sixth edition of Stuart's Grammar?" We said you shall see it with pleasure, also Professor E. Robinson's translation of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon. He sent to our house for them the same day. Some few days afterwards we called again on Mr. Paterson, who very kindly expressed his regret for having doubted our statement about Stuart's book; he also stated that while he was looking at the Grammar and Lexicon, his minister, Dr. John Brown, entered the shop, took up the books, and said, "to whom do these belong?" He said to the Primitive Methodist Minister in this city. After some further conversation, Dr. Brown put the books under his arm and walking away said, "give my kind regards to the Methodist Minister, and tell him to call upon me, I shall be most happy to see him." Accordingly, when an opportunity occurred we called upon Dr. Brown, who received us with great kindness, took us into his library, and congratulated us on the possession of such excellent books. "Now, sir," he said, "you have done us good service in bringing these editions of the Grammar and Lexicon to our notice, I have sent to America for a dozen copies for the use of my students; and allow me to say that anything I can do for you I shall feel a pleasure in doing it." From that time Dr. John Brown was in every way our friend.

Dr. Brown earnestly recommended to his students the cultivation of classical and general literature. He judged rightly, that a contracted and merely professional study of Christian theology could only narrow the lessons of that Divine Book, which is in itself an epitome of all literature, and which requires the breadth of absolute universality to take in its full revelations. His lectures, as a Professor, were read with much of the force and emphasis of his pulpit style. His quick eye wandered over the class

with much the same power, and his voice brought out with perfect nicety every shade of thought or feeling. Being in Edinburgh, after an absence of several years, and passing Broughton-place, we saw the outer doors of Dr. Brown's Church open. We slightly opened the inner doors; the Professor, who was lecturing to the students, saw us, and recognizing us at a glance, just lifted his spectacles and said, "Come in Mr. B., we shall soon be done." He resumed and finished his lecture, called upon a student to pray, took us into the vestry, and then to his own home.

Dr. Brown's love of civil and ecclesiastical freedom amounted to a passion. When the Voluntary Association was inaugurated, in 1833, the first public meeting was held in Broughton Place Church, and Dr. Brown delivered an address on the "Nature and Design of Voluntary Church Associations." He delivered another address at the annual meeting of the Glasgow Voluntary Society, 1835, on the "Financial Law of the Christian Church." He sought to show that the voluntary support of Christianity is a Divine ordinance, and that the system of establishments supersedes a law of Christ. These addresses were soon afterwards published, with a large appendix and notes, and they ranked with the best literature called forth on the subject. He also took an active part in founding, in 1834, "The Scottish Central Board for Extending the Principle of Voluntary Churches and Vindicating the Rights of Dissenters." This Board, amongst other labours, made vigorous head against the efforts of the Scottish Establishment to procure additional endowments for the old chapels of ease, and for others called into existence by Dr. Chalmers in his Church Extension enterprise. For obvious reasons, the whole scheme was abandoned in 1839.

In the midst of the general Voluntary Controversy, Dr. Brown was involved in an additional conflict, in which he stood so conspicuous that it has been still more identified with his name. This was his resistance, in the years 1836, 1837, and 1838, to the payment of the Edinburgh Annuity-tax. This impost was levied within the royalty of the city, for the payment of ministers of the Established Church in Edinburgh, the only town in Scotland, except Montrose, where the clergy were thus supported. This impost reaches back to the time of Charles I. Having occasion to remove his residence within the royalty of Edinburgh, the payment of the tax became to Dr. Brown, as it had been to others, a grave and serious case of conscience. At first he satisfied himself, that to follow up the payment of the tax by a public protest against its unscriptural character, would be a sufficient exoneration of his conscience, and an adequate testimony to his principles. Ere long, however, he came to regard this step as an imperfect discharge of his duty; hence, he resolved never to pay the Annuity-tax, and readily submitted to the distraint of his goods for it. In vindica-

tion of himself, and to explain the true Christian doctrine of civil obedience and tribute paying, he delivered two lectures, on Rom. xiii. 1-7, to his congregation in December, 1837, and January, 1838, which were immediately published. They were gradually enlarged, by the insertion of an immense body of notes, to a thick 8vo volume, and in a few months reached a third edition, under the title of "*The Law of Christ respecting Civil Obedience, especially in the Payment of Tribute;* with an *Appendix of Documents and Notes*, 1839." Of this elaborate and unanswerable production Lord Brougham, in a letter to Lord Cuninghame, said, "I have never seen the subject of civil obedience and resistance so clearly and satisfactorily discussed." To the thoughtfulness and care of his wife—for Dr. Brown had married again—it is said, we entirely owe that immense *armamentarium libertatis*, the third edition of his Treatise on Civil Obedience. The long Greek quotations were translated for Dr. Brown by his favourite pupil, Mr. Morison. With this publication, for reasons unconnected with the Annuity-tax, Dr. Brown removed from the royalty to the suburbs of Edinburgh, and his personal resistance to the grievance terminated.

In 1839, Dr. Brown published a pamphlet, the title of which explains its nature: *The United Secession Church Vindicated from the Charge, made by James A. Haldane, Esq., of Sanctioning Indiscriminate Admission to the Communion.* In 1852, when the *Memoirs of Robert and James A. Haldane* were published, in which sundry misrepresentations concerning the Annuity-tax were given, Dr. Brown deemed it his duty to furnish the means of correction in a brief pamphlet, entitled, *Remarks on Certain Statements by Alexander Haldane, Esq., in his "Memoirs of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and his Brother, James A. Haldane."*

Though Dr. Brown differed in much from the originators of the Free Church of Scotland, he took an intense interest in that remarkable national demonstration. He, with other leading Dissenters, regarded the series of contests in which the Establishment was involved with the civil power, from 1837 onwards, in order to vindicate the principles of Non-Intrusion and Spiritual Independence, as the result, in part at least, of the Voluntary impulse. However, in the earlier stages of the conflict between the General Assembly and the civil tribunals they maintained silence. But, in 1839, appeals began to be made by Non-Intrusionist Churchmen to Dissenters, to assist them by their active co-operation. To these proposals the Dissenters, through their various organs, replied by a direct negative. In 1840, Dr. Brown issued a pamphlet, entitled, *What ought the Dissenters of Scotland to do at the Present Crisis?* He contended that Dissenters, as Christians, heartily sympathized with the desires of Churchmen, so far as they

went, to curtail patronage, and assert spiritual independence; but they could not consent, as citizens, to liberate an Established Church from national supervision and control, as they desired the cessation of all State connection. The great principle of self-sustainment and independence finally triumphed. On the memorable day of the exodus from the Establishment, May 18th, 1843, Dr. Brown, regardless of the irregularity of the proceeding, waited on the empty platform of Tanfield Hall the arrival of the Disruption ministers from the General Assembly. Down they came in procession, with the throng surging like a torrent, as if the city was emptying itself of its people, and passed into that homely, spacious hall. Dr. Brown was among the first to give them the right hand of fellowship; and a distinguished Free Churchman, Dr. James Buchanan, took him eagerly by the hand, and exclaimed, "Dr. Brown, I am glad to see *you* here!" "and I," said he, with his eyes gleaming, and his heart in his mouth, "I am glad, sir, to see you *here!*" For Dr. Chalmers, the head and soul of that movement, he had a love and honour quite peculiar, and such as he felt to no other living man, except Robert Hall.

Dr. Brown held strong principles in politics. He had as much of the political fervour and principles of the men of the Commonwealth and John Locke, as of their simple and ardent faith. He held to the non-interference of the Christian Church with questions that affected the administration of the State. He objected to the discussion of such questions as that of National Education in the courts of the church to which he belonged. When the influence of church courts, as well as of other public bodies, was largely exerted in petitioning the directors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway against regular passenger traffic on the Lord's Day, he did not concur with the memorial. His objections to interference were connected with his views of the province of church courts and of the secular magistrate in matters of religion. All these questions he wisely remitted to the church member in his character of a citizen. He believed that the Church, in its organized capacity, had as often intermeddled unwisely in temporal matters as the temporal power in spiritual.

In 1841 Dr. Brown was again visited with the overwhelming affliction of widowhood. His second wife, Margaret Fisher Crum, to whom he was married, 1835, was descended from Ebenezer Erskine and James Fisher, two of the five fathers of the Secession. "This woman being a daughter of Abraham, was loosed from the bond of her infirmity on the Sabbath day," September 19th. Dr. Balmer preached her funeral sermon; and Dr. Brown prefixed a brief and touching memoir, which was printed for the use of friends, under the title, *A Sermon occasioned by the death of Mrs. Margaret Fisher Brown, by Robert Balmer, D.D., S.T.P., with a Memoir*

by her husband, 1841. This excellent woman was like sunshine and a glad sound in the house. She encouraged her husband to devote himself to the great work of his later years, the preparing for and giving to the press the results of his life's study of God's word. In passing through Edinburgh, we called upon Dr. Brown. He said, "My beloved wife is gone!" He brought out a copy of the Memoir, and, in his kindly way, gave it to us. We still retain it as a memento of that saintly woman, who was indeed one of the excellent of the earth.

In the spring of 1840 Dr. Brown was taken ill, and suffered for many months under nervous exhaustion. In a letter to the Session he requested his congregation to supply him with a colleague in his pastoral work. It was not, however, till 1842 that a colleague was obtained, by the translation of the Rev. Andrew Thomson from Lothian Road, Edinburgh, to Broughton Place. The relation thus formed was one of unbroken harmony. In 1852 Dr. Brown said to us, "Dr. Thomson is an excellent man; he has been to me more like a son in the Gospel than a colleague."

The Atonement Controversy, of which the United Secession Church was the chief theatre, from its commencement in 1841 had a tendency to connect itself with Dr. Brown; till in 1845 it gathered all its stormy elements around him, and threatened to make him its martyr. This controversy originated in connection with the views and proceedings of the Rev. James Morison, who had been recently ordained Minister of the Secession Church in Kilmarnock. Mr. Morison had been a favourite pupil of Dr. Brown, and was distinguished for his learning and ability. As a minister he was equally distinguished for the zeal and fervour in which he engaged in revival movements. In particular, he fixed on certain views connected more or less with the universal aspect of the atonement, through which he first found peace with God. These views he published in a tract, entitled "What must I do to be saved?" His sentiments gave offence to the Presbytery of Kilmarnock, as apparently inconsistent with the standards of the Secession Church; and, as Mr. Morison had not employed active measures to prevent the circulation of the tract, he was suspended from the ministry, March 3rd, 1841. He, however, appealed to the Synod which was appointed to meet in Glasgow on the 7th of June. During the interval Mr. Morison occupied his own pulpit and attended to his evangelistic labours; he also issued a clever pamphlet on "The Extent of the Atonement," as a sequel to an earlier one on "The Nature of the Atonement." At the meeting of the Synod Mr. Morison's protest, and also the protest of his congregation, against the decision of the Presbytery was read. Mr. Morison then addressed the court on the several accusations, in a long, but able and interesting defence of his views. His defence

was replied to by several members of the Synod. The speech in defence, by Dr. John Brown, embracing the several points in dispute, was remarkable for its vigour and clearness. He said, "he had given the subject all the attention in his power, and his conscientious conviction was, that most of the doctrines charged against Mr. Morison had not been, and could not be, proved to be contradictory either to the Holy Scriptures or to their symbolical books." The venerable Professor saw no heresy in the system of his favourite pupil, but that, as far as he could discover, excepting a few questionable expressions, it embraced the true gospel of the grace of God.

The Synod, after a long and earnest debate, confirmed the sentence of the Presbytery on Mr. Morison. His sentiments were condemned, and as he refused to renounce his views or submit to the sentence, he was declared to be no longer in connexion with the Secession Church. He returned to Kilmarnock, the majority of his people—who were the proprietors of the chapel in the terms of the title deed—clung to him, and a church was constituted on a form of Independency.

As Dr. Brown had been frequently charged with the paternity of Mr. Morison's sentiments, he took the opportunity of publishing a collection of extracts from his own works, as an authentic exposition of his views on the debated questions, under the title, *Opinions on Faith, Divine Influence, Human Inability, The Design and Effect of the Death of Christ, Assurance, and the Sonship of Christ.* This pamphlet was much enlarged in the second edition. Mr. Morison, meanwhile, went on in the revival work, and remarkable success attended his efforts. He began to develop his views into greater consistency, by excluding from them the Calvinistic elements which had been struggling with more liberal tendencies. He became the founder of the religious Community known as the Evangelical Union, holding, with little variation, the usual doctrines of Arminianism. Mr., now Dr. Morison, in addition to his evangelical labours, has also distinguished himself by his very valuable Expositions of the Third and the Ninth Chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, and his Commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark.

As Methodism sprang from the bosom of the Church of England, to kindle anew the earnestness of religious life, so this Community, springing from the bosom of the Scottish Church, hath the same mission—to honour our Lord and theirs, in proclaiming "the Common Salvation" freely and fully to all mankind.

The disturbed feeling of the Secession Church, on the subject of the extent of the Atonement, continued; and, as suspicions of Dr. Brown's orthodoxy were entertained by some, though he had given explanations, he had, in the Synod of 1842, to resume the work of

explanation, when explicit confidence was declared in him. The same Synod suspended the Rev. Robert Morison, for doctrines similar to those charged against his son. After this Synod, Dr. Balmer republished a work of Polhill, a lay divine of the Commonwealth period, on the "Extent of the Death of Christ," to which he prefixed a recommendatory preface. This preface became a centre of disturbance, and continued to spread its shadow alike over Dr. Balmer and Dr. Brown, who were now the senior Professors of Divinity. In the Synod held in October, 1843, the professors delivered their sentiments on the two aspects of the atonement—its *special* relation to the elect, and its *general* relation to all men; and the Synod unanimously declared itself satisfied. But the storm was far from spent. Dr. Brown, in bidding farewell to Dr. Balmer after the Synod, with something like prophetic sagacity, had said, "Take care that the clouds do not return after the rain." The words were soon fulfilled. As the professors had published their "Statements," which had been made in the Synod, Dr. Marshall, in an appendix to his *Catholic Doctrine of Redemption Vindicated*," animadverted with much severity on them. The two professors complained of this appendix to the Synod of 1844, when Dr. Marshall disclaimed any intention to bring charges against them, and intimated his purpose to suppress the appendix.

From this Synod Dr. Balmer, whose former services to the Church were universally acknowledged, and whose candour and gentleness in these trying scenes had made a deep impression, returned to Berwick to die. Dr. Brown preached his colleague's funeral sermon, and edited the two volumes of his *Academical Lectures and Sermons*, 1845; he also wrote his epitaph. Dr. Brown, who had been as much bound to Dr. Balmer by tender friendship as by identity of opinions, was left to struggle through the remaining passages of the controversy alone. The year 1845 brought with it the issue of this prolonged and painful strife. Dr. Marshall published his "Remarks on the Statements" of Drs. Balmer and Brown, in which he asserted that the gospel set forth in their Statements was "a worthless gospel." Dr. Brown, who strongly complained that such charges were advanced against him through the press, and not brought before the Church courts, published a *Statement made April* 1, 1845, *before the Ministers Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh, on asking their Advice.* In this clever tract, which is a resumé of the controversy, Dr. Brown met the charge of heresy, but said with energy, "The doctrine of the general aspect of the death of Christ must not be given up. That is an essential principle of Christian truth. The clear exhibition of that truth has been one of the characteristic glories of the Secession in the whole course of its history. It is, indeed, an essential part of "the gospel of salvation," which has been happily

described "as the preaching of a Divine Saviour, through whom God exhibits, presents, gives, in the word, a free, perfect, and everlasting salvation to sinners, without distinction or exception, to be received and become theirs in proper possession and enjoyment by faith."

The Synodical meeting in May approved of Dr. Brown's conduct in appealing for protection, and expressed entire confidence in his soundness in the faith. Dr. Marshall, however, expressed his intention to bring a libel against Dr. Brown. The Synod met on the 21st of July, 1845, and ordered the libel to be printed and sent to all the members, and fixed the 29th of July for its final consideration. The libel was drawn in the form of a syllogism. The major proposition set forth five heads of doctrine as contrary to Scripture and the standards of the Secession Church. The minor proposition alleged that these errors had been avowed and promulgated by Dr. Brown.

The *first* count charged Dr. Brown with denying the immutability of the Divine decrees. The *second* count related to original sin. The *third* count brought up the long vexed and agitated question of the extent of the atonement. The *fourth* count seemed to charge it is an error that the death of Christ needed Divine appointment. The *fifth* count charged him with the error of teaching that Christ in his death was the substitute of all men, and thus subverting his substitution in the room of his people. All the charges made against Dr. Brown were declared to be unfounded, and he was acquitted with acclamation. The Synod dismissed the libel, and "declared that there exists no ground even for suspicion, that he holds or has ever held any opinion on the points under review inconsistent with the word of God, or the subordinate standards of this Church."

Nothing in Dr. Brown's public life gave him such deep prolonged suffering as this controversy. He had, however, besides the testimony of a good conscience, the countenance of numerous friends. His colleague earnestly defended him in the Synod and elsewhere; and he was sustained by the unshaken confidence and sympathy of his congregation. His congregation presented him with £200, and other tokens of their affection; and a present of valuable books expressed the feeling of his students on his acquittal, and on the termination of the controversy.

The general results of the controversy exerted a salutary influence in liberalizing the tone of Scottish theology, while it did but little to derange its equilibrium or remove its landmarks. In this controversy we see how church history repeats itself. There is ever a tendency to allow opinions to crystallise into creeds. But mere difference of phraseology expressive of opinion, or modes of stating truth, is not always difference of doctrine. Such difference is un-

avoidable and must always be allowed. To interdict the use of variety of language, and permit only a stereotyped phraseology, were to crystallise opinions, and would not only be destructive of all energy and life in religion, but would render explanation and progress alike impossible. The storms, however, of the atonement controversy were relieved by considerable intervals of rest and sunshine. In May, 1843, Dr. Brown, with a few friends, visited the Continent. In Lausanne he met Vinet; and in Geneva, Cæsar Malan, La Harpe, Merle d'Aubigne and Gaussen. At Carlsruhe, he found the grave of Heinrich Jung Stilling, with the striking inscription, "Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee." At Basle he stood before the tomb of Œcolampadius, in the cloisters of the cathedral. Of this brief tour he said, "We are not as we should be, but oh, when I compare what Scotland is, with what I find every place on the Continent, I find that our causes of gratitude are innumerable and inappreciable."

In May, 1846, Dr. Brown lost by death the youngest member of his family. He felt this stroke with inexpressible keenness. The record of this bereavement is a touching little volume, *Comfortable Words for Christian Parents bereaved of Little Children.* Dr. Brown took an active part in the formation of the Evangelical Alliance, in 1845 and 1846. He also contributed to the Union between the Relief and Secession Churches, which was at length effected, and the United Presbyterian Church formed by their fusion, in May, 1847. He also drew up a brief manual of the *History and Doctrines of the United Body.* In 1849 he published *Memorials of the Rev. James Fisher*, one of the leaders of the Secession. At different periods he published "Hints on the Lord's Supper, and Thoughts for the Lord's Table," "The Mourner's Friend," a selection of Tracts and Hymns; "Hints on the Nature and Influence of Christian Hope," "The Abolition of Death," "On the Equity and Benignity of the Divine Law," "Human Authority in Religion Condemned by Jesus Christ," and also funeral sermons for Drs. Mitchell, Balmer, Peddie, Heugh, and Wardlaw. In 1848, Dr. Brown began to issue his exegetical works, which so eminently exhibit his learning and skill. The *Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter* were issued in three volumes. This valuable work was afterwards issued in two volumes.

In 1850, Dr. Brown published in three volumes *The Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ, illustrated in a series of Expositions.* This great work, indispensable to the Christian Minister, and richly edifying to the humble believer, was republished, revised and considerably enlarged, in 1852. During the spring of that year we had occasion to visit Edinburgh. We called upon Dr. John Brown at his beautiful residence, Arthur

Lodge. During the conversation, Dr. Brown said, "What do you think will be the issue of this commotion in Methodism?" We replied, Methodism will hold on its course, and probably another Community will come out of it. We then asked Dr. Brown, who is Mr. Morison, of whom we hear so much in the north of England? He said, "Mr. Morison was a clever student of mine, and an excellent man; but I have had a great amount of trouble on his account." After some further conversation on men and books, we asked the venerable Professor what he thought of Dr. Adam Clarke's Commentary? He replied, "It is not up to the mark; Mr. Watson was by far the superior author in Methodism." But what do you say to his Theological Institutes? He said with energy, "Mr. Watson was a prince in Theology; his Theological Institutes is the noblest work in Methodism, and it is truly valuable." In the course of conversation we ventured to ask, what age may you be Dr. Brown? The venerable scholar replied, "If I am spared two more years, all beyond will be special favour." You refer sir, to the limit of human life, three score years and ten. "I do sir," he replied. On our rising to leave, Dr. Brown arose and said, "You always call on me when you visit Edinburgh, and I hope, sir, you will do so while I live. Now sir, let me present you with this copy of the second edition of the *Discourses and Sayings of our Lord*, which I have only received to day." He at once wrote our name in it and his own, in his even then beautiful writing. We said, that is too big a book for you to give away, sir. We shall never forget his kindly look and characteristic reply. "No, my dear sir, this book has only one fault that you need care about, and I am sorry for that, and that is that you should have to carry it all the way to Newcastle."

As a sequel to the *Discourses and Sayings of our Lord*, Dr. Brown published, in 1850, his excellent *Exposition of our Lord's Intercessory Prayer*, in one volume. And, in 1851, he sent out his elaborate volume, *The Resurrection of Life*. Of this exposition of 1 Corinthians xv., an interesting anecdote is related of a sceptic, to whom it had been lent. Amongst other supplementary extracts Dr. Brown gives a beautiful parable from Hallet, illustrative of the possibility, scientifically considered, of the resurrection of the Christian. It is the story of a servant, who, receiving a silver cup from his master, suffers it to fall into a vessel of *aquafortis*, and seeing it disappear, contends, in argument with a fellow-servant that its recovery is impossible, till the master comes on the scene and, by infusing salt water, precipitates the silver from the solution after which, by melting and hammering the metal, he restores it to its ancient shape. With this apologue, the sceptic, one of whose great stumbling-blocks was the difficulty of the resurrection of the body, was so struck, that he ultimately renounced

his opposition to the gospel, and became to all appearance a partaker of the Christian hope of immortality.

In 1852, Dr. Brown published his expositions of Psalm xviii. and Isaiah liii., in one volume, entitled, *The Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah.* In the same year he issued his volume of *Plain Discourses on Important Subjects*, one of which, The Bible: What it is—What it does—What it deserves, was circulated by thousands. And in 1853 appeared his elaborate *Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians.* He declined to publish an exposition of the Second Epistle of Peter, but, in 1856, he issued an exposition of the first chapter, with some other discourses, in a volume entitled *Parting Counsels.* The last exegetical treatise of Dr. Brown was his *Analytical Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans*, 1857. This masterly volume is only a part of a larger work which Dr. Brown had contemplated, which might have some claim to the threefold appellation of a grammatical, historical, and logical commentary.

One other large work, an *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, carefully prepared for the press, Dr. Brown retained in his repositories to the last. This valuable exposition was published in two volumes some time after the author's death.

To the task of exposition Dr. Brown brought immense, and, not unfrequently, absolutely exhaustive learning. That a series of commentaries, consisting of more than ten octavo volumes, and some of these on the most difficult epistles of the New Testament, were issued during the last ten years of his life. This is itself a literary phenomenon. They are marked by elaborate criticism and literary finish; a penetrating judgment vivifies the mass of learning, and a native sagacity, which is to the expositor what scientific genius is in any other department, extracts the hidden sense. During the years which were occupied with the publication of his expositions, Dr. Brown's life ran on in a singularly even tenor. His health, but for an occasional attack of lumbago or sciatica, was good. His cheerful countenance still retained its striking beauty. Mrs. H. B. Stowe, when on a visit to Mr. Douglas, at Cavers, in 1853, says, "I was introduced to Dr. John Brown, who is reckoned one of the best exegetical scholars in Europe. He is small of stature, sprightly, and pleasant in manner, with a high, bald forehead and snow-white hair." Dr. Brown regularly attended the meetings of Presbytery, and also of the Synod. Though nothing of a debater, he was recognised as the leading mind of the denomination. His congregation enjoyed unbroken prosperity. The Theological Hall continued to flourish, attended by about two hundred students, and filling up to each professor two busy months with congenial labour. In the several conferences, in order to effect a union between the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church of Scotland, Dr. Brown took a lively interest. At that period he

saw that things were not ripe for union. Such, however, at present, is the advanced state of opinion, that no distant day may witness a thorough incorporation of the two Churches.

On February 6th, 1856, Dr. Brown had completed the fiftieth year of his ministry. His congregation and other friends celebrated the jubilee on April 8th, by a morning service in Broughton Place Church, when Dr. Cairns preached from Lev. xxv. 10. In the evening, Tanfield Hall, for the last time, was filled to overflowing. Dr. Thomson presided over the meeting, surrounded by the professors and a very large body of ministers. An address was presented to Dr. Brown from the congregation of Broughton Place, along with a gift of £610, as a token of their esteem and gratitude. To this noble gift of his people, in keeping with his generosity, he added a donation of £50, to form a fund for the annual relief of aged ministers. The entire sum was doubled by the liberality of the families of Dr. Heugh and the Rev. Thomas Leckie. Addresses were then presented to him from more than one hundred and fifty ministers, who had studied under him; also from the Rose Street congregation, and from that at Biggar. Dr. Brown's speech was long, characteristic, and happy. In relating before the Assembly his religious experience, he said, "The good old gentlewoman was right, who said to her younger friend, when broaching such a subject on the street, 'Whist, lassie, thae are no causey cracks;' yet I would feel as if I had neglected a duty, did I not make an acknowledgement how good a Master, for these fifty years, I have had, and how unprofitable a servant He has had in me. Yes, He has been a good Master, sustaining me in weakness, guiding me in perplexity, comforting me in sorrow. Were He and I now finally to part, which God forbid, He would leave me much His debtor." The Assembly was addressed by the professors and other ministers, bearing harmonious testimony to Dr. Brown's labours. The *Memorial Volume*, published at the time, commemorates these interesting jubilee services.

In 1857 Dr. Brown published a small volume of missionary discourses, on Isaiah lvi. 8, entitled, *The Three Gatherings*. From this work it appears that Dr. Brown was no expectant of the personal advent before the last day. He was accustomed quietly to remark, in regard to the views of others who held the premillenarian hypothesis, "We do not look for the Saviour so soon as some of our friends do; but if He should come, we shall be very glad to see Him."

Dr. Brown's attention was a good deal occupied in the preparation of a Reference Bible, on a new and peculiar principle. In this enterprise Principal Cunningham, and Drs. Alexander and Goold, were associated with him. The design unfortunately stopped at an early stage. He had already published three volumes

of *Theological Tracts*, selected from all schools of theology, including original treatises, and some important lectures by Dr. Balmer. In connection with this enterprise he republished, in 1857, Nathanael Culverwel's *Light of Nature*, with illustrative notes, and edited with great care. Culverwel was a philosopher among the Puritans, who had anticipated some of the most important results of later speculation.

In the autumn of 1857, Dr. Brown discharged for the last time his duties as Professor. He preached for the last time on November 15th, when he paused in the middle of his discourse from a sudden and sharp attack of indisposition. His strength continued to fail, and henceforth his colleague relieved him of all pulpit duty. Henceforward, except with occasional intervals, he was doomed to suffering, and to spend two long years in the ever descending road. The ardent, unsparing brain—reckless of periods of repose when needed—had wasted its power by excess of intensity and effort. "This," says his son, John Brown, M. D., "is the true reason, along with want of purity and change of air, want of exercise, want of shifting the work of the body—why clergymen, men of letters, and all men of intense mental application, are so liable to be affected with indigestion, constipation, lumbago, and lowness of spirits, *melancholia*—black bile. All this happened to my father. He had no formal disease when he died—no structural change; his sleep and his digestion would have been quite sufficient for life, even up to the last; the mechanism was entire, but the motive-power was gone—it was *expended*. The silver cord was not so much loosed as relaxed. Thus it was that my father's illness was not so much a disease as a long death; life ebbing away, consciousness left entire, the certain issue never out of sight."

The first weeks of 1858 brought relief from pain; but much physical depression remained. On one occasion, after he had somewhat rallied, he said to his daughter, Miss Brown, "I do not know that I have ever been nearer the unseen world than at this time;" but, he added, "I felt the bottom and it was good." At intervals of ease and rest he again turned to his books. His friend, the Rev. Dr. George Johnston, found him one day reading with extraordinary interest, Cicero's *De Senectute*. "What," said he, laughingly, "have you gone back to heathenism for comfort in your old age?" "No," replied Dr. Brown, "but sit down and let me tell you, that ignorant as he was of the Bible, and of the true ground of comfort and support in old age, Cicero does go as far as a heathen man can go." From every course of reading, he returned with warmer gratitude and deeper confidence to the Bible and the Cross.

The American revival of 1858 agitated Dr. Brown with mingled joy and anxiety. He not only eagerly read every account of the

work on which he could lay his hands, but tasked his feeble strength by writing on the subject. He republished a discourse, which he had issued amidst the Kilsyth revival movements of 1839, entitled, *Means and Manifestations of a Genuine Revival of Religion*, with a preface and appendix, chiefly bearing upon the movements in America. He insisted that the revival must permanently affect the tone of feeling in regard to slavery, or be self-condemned. And who can say that this revival of religion was not the beginning of the end of slavery in America? During the summer he also wrote a *Pastoral Letter*, evidencing the depth and solemnity of those religious exercises through which he had passed during his protracted illness, which was by a resolution of the congregation, printed and circulated amongst them. He also prepared an enlarged edition of the collection of *Hints on Faith and Hope*, to present, in his usual way, to each student, as a token of personal esteem. Along with this book, he had arranged to give to each student a new edition of a separate treatise, to which he had added notes, also a list of books entitled, an *Address to Students of Divinity*, extracted from the preface of his grandfather's "Compendious View of Natural and Revealed Religion." Dr. Brown first issued this small treatise when he became Professor in 1834, and had ever afterwards presented a copy to each student on his leaving the Divinity Hall.

During this time Dr. Brown was slowly but gradually losing strength; sometimes he endured much bodily depression, and occasionally, from his own sensitive nature, he suffered an amount of mental depression. Such was his tendency to distrust himself, that bodily darkness and mournfulness at times overshadowed him; but this was not inconsistent with a clear, firm faith, a habitual sense of God and of his infinite mercy, which was rooted in him. He had his brighter seasons of hallowed joy, when he would repeat the fine parallelism, his countenance shining as he spoke, "His anger, a *moment*; His favour, a *lifetime*; weeping for a *night*; joy in the *morning*." A few days before his death, Mr. Gillespie called to inform him of the interesting case of the sceptic whose mind had been favourably impressed by his book on the *Resurrection of Life*. Dr. Brown was greatly affected. He put his hands together, and gave thanks, that though he was laid aside from active work, it pleased God to bless anything that he had written. He directed that liberal relief should be sent to the man, who was ill and unable to work; and turning to the missionary said, "You will go, Mr. Gillespie, to Mr. Oliphant, and get a copy of that book on the Resurrection of Life, and give it to the man with my kindest wishes, and with the prayer that that Saviour, who is all my hope, may be his Saviour, too." The message was to the man like a voice from another world, and greatly deepened the impression which the book had made.

The "daily dying" of the venerable Professor was now to close. There was no return of suffering to cloud his remaining days. His words to his son, "The clock will just stop," were fulfilled. On October 13th, in answer to a question from Miss Brown as to how he was, he replied, "*Wonderfully* well." Then, surrounded by his children, his eye resting with affection from one to another, his spirit was released from the body, and he entered into the joy of his Lord.

On the 20th of October the grave closed over the remains of this distinguished theologian. Devotional exercises were conducted by Dr. Johnstone, in Nicholson Street Church, attended by the three congregations to which Dr. Brown had successively ministered. The company then proceeded to Arthur Lodge, the residence of the deceased, where service was conducted by Principal Lee, and Drs. Candlish, Smith, and Thomson. Professors of the University, and ministers and members of all denominations, joined the funeral procession from Newington, which was one of the largest that ever passed through the streets of Edinburgh. It would convey but a poor impression of the deep interest that was manifested to say that seven or eight hundred persons walked in procession, upwards of two hundred of whom were ministers; it would be nearer the truth to state that the whole city turned out along the whole line of procession, to do honour to a truly good man. It was the profound reverence and respect of a whole city to genuine worth. The procession, joined at the Calton Convening Rooms by the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, in full costume, reached the Calton Cemetery, and, after a brief pause, amidst the vast assemblage, the mortal remains of one of Scotland's greatest theologians were committed to their last resting-place.

In the immense crowd who had thus mournfully carried Dr. Brown to his burial, was the poor reclaimed sceptic of the Canongate District, whose religious impressions had dated from the perusal of the work on the *Resurrection of Life*. Though very feeble, he had crept forth to look on the scene of mourning. Six months afterwards he died, praying to the last, and giving utterance to the deepest expressions of penitence and trust in his Saviour. He was interred in the same burying-ground, and, by a coincidence altogether undesigned, it was found, after he had been laid to rest, that he was placed near Dr. Brown's grave, and at his feet. It may be, on the morning of the resurrection of life, that he who came last may be among the first whom the man of God may claim and acknowledge as the fruit of his labours, saying, "Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me, for signs and for wonders in Israel, from the Lord of hosts."

The central quality of Dr. Brown's mind was a singular clearness of apprehension, nearly allied to penetration, and soundness of

judgment. Accepting the Bible as an absolute revelation, he cultivated a wide literary field for its illustration. Almost everything that had been written of value, and much of little or none, he had mastered; and hence his works rise into a region of scholarship to which Scottish theology had been long a stranger, and take an independent place on the field of universal Biblical science.

J. A. B.

ART. II.—THE PROPITIATION.

"WHOM God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time his righteousness, that he might be just and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus.—Rom. iii. 25, 26.

THE subject named at the head of this paper is the very key-stone of the arch of Christian doctrine. The section of Scripture accompanying it is of great value in relation to the subject. Several of the best Scripture expositors have expressed their views in relation to it in such lofty terms as to warrant us in expecting to find in it the very marrow of Gospel doctrine. For any one who is enamoured with the peculiar and distinguishing elements of Christian truth, there is in this passage and its contextual relations quite a banquet. We invite the thoughtful reader to accompany us in our attempt to make out its meaning. This we shall best accomplish by dealing with the emphatic words and phrases that we find in the section. As a way-mark to the reader we put the emphasized terms in italics, at the head of each paragraph.

"Whom God hath *set forth* to be a propitiation." As to the import of the word rendered 'set forth,' our choice lies between two interpretations, which have both found favour with commentators. One is, that it means fore-ordained, purposed, or designed. The other is, that it means placed before, presented, or exhibited. As far as the composition of the word is concerned (for it is compounded with a prefix), it is capable of bearing either of the two senses. It occurs in two other passages, where it is well translated, "purposed," and most naturally bears that sense. We give the passages under: "Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I *purposed* to come unto you (but was let hitherto) that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles," Rom. i. 13. "Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure, which he hath *purposed*

in himself," Eph. i. 9. To have rendered "exhibted" in these instances would have made no good sense. A personal resolve or purpose meets the case in both the citations. Without violence, we might follow the idea of pre-determining. This view leads our minds back into the remoteness of a past eternity, and represents the Deity as resolving on this grand scheme of mercy. We quite lose ourselves in the idea, being unable to define a point when this lofty design sprang up in the divine mind. In vain we ask if it were immediately precedent to time, or ages earlier, or further backward still in the deep past. It suffices to say that it was anterior to time, when there were no intelligent beings to share with him the knowledge of his sublime purpose. He could not set it forth to the view or cognizance of any, as he was himself the sole existence. The doctrine involved in this view of the case we reverently accept, but without adopting this interpretation.

We lean to the other sense of the word, both because it is warranted on philological grounds and is obviously suited to the context. Jesus Christ was actually *placed before* the world as an object of observation for men and angels to look upon, to regard and study, deep moral lessons being involved in his vicarious mission. The attention of the moral universe was drawn in the direction of his person and work. Our idea finds a picturesque illustration in what an apostle affirms of himself and his apostolic brethren: "For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last as it were, appointed to death, for we are made a spectacle to the world, to angels and to men," 1 Cor. iv. 9. The apostles were men exposed to observation, and watched as closely as performers upon the stage in a theatre. In relation to the recovery of mankind from the thrall and curse of sin, a tragic death was necessary; not a mock-exhibition, but a terrible reality. To this suffering task God exposed his only-begotten Son. Every thing requisite to draw attention to him as the person entrusted with this high undertaking was previously done. To awaken expectation and to furnish evidence, he was set forth in prophecy and in an organized system of sacrifices, long before his appearance in the flesh. The real forthsetting was his incarnation. He stood before the world enrobed in human flesh; and it was God's doing. In the fulness of time he sent forth his Son, and placed him before the world at a point where men might see him and deal with him.

It was for no light purpose that the Son of God was thus exposed to shame and suffering, but "to be a *propitiation.*" This weighty term occurs in very few places in our translation of the New Testament. Besides this place, it occurs only in the following passages:—"And he is a propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world," 1 John ii. 2. "Herein is love,

not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins," 1 John iv. 10. Though this particular word is so seldom used, the doctrine embodied in it suffers no loss thereby, as there are other words employed in which the same doctrine is involved. It has equivalents in such terms as *ransom, atonement, sacrifice.* Besides these, sundry phrases and collections of words occur in favour of the doctrine, too numerous for instance and detail.

Without clogging the subject with metaphysical niceties, we accept the popular idea concerning it, namely, that *something was suffered on account of which pardon can be honourably offered to, and safely accepted by, men.* The propitiation was made *for* men, and *to* God in his rectoral capacity. It was a death, the death of a dignified personage. In human affairs propitiation has been often made by lighter means than death. Money, or property, of which money represents the value, has frequently brought an offender and the offended into favourable relationship. We call attention to illustrative examples which make an approach towards the case in hand, without being precisely similar.

In the history of the sacred family, we find two brothers coming into unhappy collision. They were twin-brothers, an endearing circumstance, which affects the case to aggravate the offence. Born together, reared together, trained and taught together, after they had reached maturity a breach occurred, that made a long separation and proved the cause of much bitter feeling. The strifes of childhood are of easy adjustment. The wrongs of manhood breed deeper difficulty and awaken heavier resentment. Twice did calculating *Jacob* over-reach rash impulsive *Esau*, and cut him out of privileges to which as the elder brother he deemed himself entitled. The second wrong necessitated a separation, to prevent worse consequence. After more than twenty years' absence the wheel of providence was bringing these twin brothers to stand face to face. The prospect of a personal interview was painful on the side of the offender, the memory of the old wrong being a burden on his mind. No reparation having been made, he could not trust to the healing power of time to have softened down his brother's anger. Painfully revolving the subject in his mind, he had recourse to a device which cost him a considerable sacrifice of property. To disarm his brother's wrath, he made up a handsome present out of his flock, consisting of the choice of his cattle, and sent it on in advance to meet him. "For, he said, I will appease him with the present that goeth before me, and afterwards I will see his face peradventure he will accept of me." Gen. xxxii. 20. Whether this was necessary in respect of Esau or not (some think it was not) it was certainly a necessity to Jacob, who felt that he coul-

not look on the face of his injured brother without it. A guilty mind requires some security and satisfaction to be made for its offences before it can feel itself easy and quiet, however gracious the displeased party may become.

A similar case is found in the first book of Samuel, in the twenty-fifth chapter. A rich Israelitish farmer, who had more property than virtue and good sense, insulted David, the king-elect of Israel, by harshly refusing to give a reasonable compensation for services rendered by his soldiers in the way of defence and protection. Incivility and insult were added to the refusal. The prospective monarch resolved on severe chastisement, and was on his way to inflict the punishment which his sense of justice and his insulted honour dictated, not, perhaps, without some mixture of unworthy passion that would have overgone the demerit of the provocation. Timely prevention interposed. The mistress of the threatened establishment met David and his avenging company on the way, with a magnificent present, and by a prudent and persuasive address, cooled down his anger, and conciliated his favour. The gift was a propitiation, helped no little by the personal presence and modest prudence of the bearer who presented it. The churlish insult of the husband was atoned for by the generous present of the wife, and, as far as David was concerned, the fault was condoned.

We quote another instance, less rude and commercial, in which not a man, but the Deity himself, was propitiated. The discussion between Job and his friends supplies it. In the course of debate bold things had been uttered against God, as hard things had been said against the sufferer whose troubles occasioned the argument. But Job was not to be propitiated in the affair, though he was honoured and vindicated. In the heat of controversy the divine administration had been irreverently criticised and unwarrantable utterances made about the Governor of the world. So he ordered the three erring controversialists to propitiate him by a sevenfold sacrifice, offered in connection with the prayer and priestly offices of the man they had dishonoured. This was an atonement by *blood.* In the instances previously cited, *men* were propitiated by *gifts.* Here God asks propitiation, and demands it in the way of bloody sacrifice, though it was but the blood of animals. See Job xlii. 7-9.

We add to the burden of illustration one instance more, in which God had to be propitiated for a sin that was committed against *men,* showing us that it is not on personal grounds that he demands propitiation, but for the public vindication of rectitude. The fact we refer to is recorded in 2 Sam. xxi. There was a famine in Israel for three successive years towards the latter part of David's reign. The distress it occasioned necessitated an enquiry at the divine oracle

as to its procuring cause. The answer obtained reveals a fact not otherwise recorded, that Saul, aided by his partizans, had meditated and attempted the extirpation of the Gibeonites, who dwelt in the Holy Land, secure under the sanction of a national oath. Several years after this cruel and perfidious attempt, the land was troubled with a grievous famine. Nor was this sufficient to expiate the offence. There must be a propitiation. Consulting with the Gibeonites, David said, "What shall I do for you? and wherewith shall I make the *atonement*, that ye may bless the inheritance of the Lord?" 2 Sam. xxi. 3. The result was that seven of Saul's male descendants were offered up to death on one day in Gibeah, the place being selected because it was Saul's home, to shew its connection with his sin. And to shew that it was not a common execution, it is said that they were hanged "*up unto the Lord.*" "And after that God was intreated for the land." But for the propitiation the prayer would have been unavailing.

The propitiation by which the breach between man and his Maker is made up is altogether of divine contrivance. God is both beginning and end. He took the affair into his own hands. By the rules that obtain amongst men, the burden lies on the offending party. To him it belongs to make suit for mercy and to offer compensation, or the law must take its course. In case of inability on his part, some of his friends may interpose their good offices, and propose and produce honourable means of reconciliation. It is not necessarily an affair between two. A third party is admissible. If the offender is powerless to meet the difficulty, some able friend may interpose for him and satisfy the law. In the case before us the guilty party finds his friend in the very Person to whom propitiation is due. To some it has appeared objectionable that the same individual should be propitiated, and yet provide the propitiation. That he provides the means of reconciliation is pleaded as evidence that no reparation was needful, since he was evidently graciously inclined. The distinction between the *magisterial* relation of God to man, and his *personal* relation to him, solves the difficulty. In his personal capacity he loved the offender and compassionated his case, whilst, as the guardian of law, he was bound to enforce the penalty, or rest its non-enforcement on some sufficient ground. Because no one else could devise or produce anything adequate to the occasion, he did it himself: "For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." John iii. 16. The sufferings of the Son of God are the propitiation.

We *believe* this grand doctrine, and rejoice to believe it, as it satisfies the demands of an awakened conscience, and lays a firm foundation for hope. We are anxious also to *understand* it, and to have it understood as far as it comes within the power of the human

mind. Though it is addressed to the intellectual faculty, it is, in our opinion, a theme too large and lofty to be fully mastered. We think it entitled to be treated with more reverence than it commonly meets with. Men who reason upon it have no right to demand that every difficulty associated with it should be obviated. It is a deep theme, a thing of its own kind, the very like of which never turns up in human affairs. When we have searched the entire field of earthly relationships, we find no perfect likeness of the atonement. We have to be content with rough casts of similitude, rather than look for exact copies. In this respect the kingdom of heaven is like certain things, but is not the very image of those things, nor are they the very image of it.

The next parcel of words, "*through faith in his blood*," stands in unbroken connection with the previous clause. It is not divided from it even by a comma. Criticism has proposed to insert commas after the words propitiation and faith, and to make these clauses turn back upon some of the earlier clauses of the section. We think it most natural and easy to accept the pointing of the translation, and understand the words "through faith in his blood" as signifying that anyone who will receive benefit from the propitiation must do so by an act of faith, and in that faith must have respect to his blood, the blood which is propitiatory in respect of justice being the object on which faith rests and feels safe. A propitiation through faith in his blood! Though we prefer to preserve all these words in a group and express them in one breath, we do not regard the faith as an element in the propitiation, but only as the means of appropriating it. The deed of suffering is complete, and acceptable to God independent of human faith. It is Christ's work entirely. Whether men receive or reject it, affects not its value. But it can only become of benefit to us by our exercise of faith in it. And our faith has special respect to his *blood*, "for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul." Lev. xvii. 11. The propitiation takes effect, in relation to each individual, upon his personal trust in it, and not till then, and to none but such as do thus trust.

The final cause of the propitiation comes into view next—"*to declare his righteousness.*" The salvation of men is not lost sight of, while the glory of God is the primary object. God's glory first, man's recovery next! And man's recovery only as it is comportable and consistent with God's glory! No right-minded person would have a sinner saved contrary to the fundamental rules of the divine government, or so that blame might fall on the divine administration. The awakened sinner himself could not repose confidence in a pardon that was not satisfactory to the strictest justice. Not only must mercy be consistent with rectitude, but it must be seen and known and shown to be so. It must be declared,

which it has been. The term *declare* is not so lively as the ideal import of the word. "To *shew*" is better. Or better still, as the original word is a noun, "for the shewing forth of his righteousness." It is a pointing out with the finger. Harmonious with our previous remarks about an exhibition, it is a shewing of righteousness. The same word is so rendered in other passages where it occurs: "Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up that *I might shew* my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth." Rom. ix. 17. "That in the ages to come *he might shew* the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness toward us through Christ Jesus." Eph. ii. 7. "Howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ *might shew forth* all long-suffering for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting." 1 Tim. i. 16.

"To declare his *righteousness*,"—that is, say some, his mercy or benignity; others say, his truthfulness; others, his method of justifying sinners; and others still, his holiness. Without stopping to examine these several views, we think we come nearest when we say his justice, which is bound to enforce the penal sanctions of the law. If those sanctions are not enforced, there will require reasons to be shewn why. The omission of the penalty must be upon worthy grounds and for reasons satisfactory to the most penetrating and searching intelligences. All the subjects of God's moral universe, whether obedient or apostate, must be shut up to the acknowledgment that the exercise of mercy leaves justice in its full honour. This view of the word answers to the closing part of the 26th verse, "That he might be just and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus."

The propitiation which honours justice is the warrant for the exercise of forbearance and forgiveness—"*for the remission of sins that are past through the forbearance of God.*" The margin reads "for the *passing over* of sins that are past." Between this and the textual reading there is a difference. Forgiveness is better than merely letting a fault pass, without any present indication of displeasure. The offence that is overlooked for the present is liable to be charged upon one afterwards, whereas the sin that is remitted is done with, and not liable to after-charge. It amounts to the difference between forbearance and forgiveness. Though these two terms are in line and neighbourhood there is a clear distinction. It is thought that the translators have given the word little advantage by rendering it remission. It sometimes occurs that a feebler term in the same plane of direction as a stronger comes to be used in as full a sense as the stronger. So philologists tell us that the word in question, though properly meaning "to pass over," is employed by Greek writers in the sense of forgive-

ness. It is remarkable, however, that if Paul meant forgiveness by it, he should in this solitary instance make use of a word bearing less import when he was so accustomed to another expressing it more fully. The only solution we can think of is the fact that the sins referred to were unatoned for at the time when they were regarded with such lenience, and out of respect to an after-coming expiation were not punished. The atonement was due in relation to them. As they were forgiven upon trust, the act is not honoured by the worthier term which expresses the acceptance of believers in this gospel age.

"Sins that are past,"—sins committed before the Christian age, within the period of time from the fall to the incarnation. There is another explanation given of this clause, as if it meant the past sins of any individual up to the time of his conversion. This is a weak exposition, and quite out of joint with a following clause which contrasts "this time" with the "past." Besides, it is capable of being construed so as to imply that for the absolution of sins after conversion no provision whatever is made. Some have actually made this clause, so understood, the basis of such a discouraging doctrine. The better exposition divides time into two extensive periods, from the beginning of the world to the coming of Christ, and from his coming to the end of the world; and affirms that within the first period, before the propitiation was yet made, mercy was in exercise and did much work prospectively on the faith and strength of the expiation that would certainly transpire in fact. Much sin was passed over. Many who had sinned lived high in God's favour and received signal tokens of his goodness. And many more, who continued and persevered in sin were treated with great forbearance. But this was not done without warrant or without respect to some indemnity or security for the credit of divine justice. In due time the propitiation, which is the grand exponent of the divine dealings with a sinful world, gave a satisfactory explanation. St. Paul means that if this atoning work had not followed on in the rear of all this lenity, it would have been lawful to enquire what had become of justice and where the difference was between right and wrong. The problem waited long for its solution. At last the grand exegetist came and declared the Father. John i. 18.

"Sins that are past" include the sins of all persons who were pardoned under the Old Testament age, whether they were of the stock of Abraham or only of the faith of Abraham. There was a host of believers in Christ before Christ came. Perhaps most of them were Israelites. In heathendom also there were some, yea, "many" in the east and west and north and south, who had a real though unconscious interest in the coming Saviour. The sins of all these were forgiven in an age when the grand act of repa-

ration to justice was not consummated. They passed out of life in faith into another state of being, enjoying there such a degree of conscious felicity as grace was pleased to provide for them till the decease at Jerusalem was accomplished, when, no doubt, their condition was improved. See Heb. ix. 15; xi. 13, 39, 40.

Though we think that reference is had principally to persons actually benefitted by the atonement, we have no doubt that Christ's death had respect also to the sins of those who died unpardoned before his coming, and was the ground of divine forbearance exercised towards them. Yet, if the reader please to think that no such distinction is needed, but that "sins that are past" include the whole mass of human sin before Christ's coming, he can hold that view. Only, in that case he would need to take the word rendered "remission" in a lower sense, as equivalent to passing over or overlooking, unless he chose to believe that all the world was pardoned and saved up to that time, an alternative that is inadmissible.

"Through the forbearance of God." This parcel of words requires connection with the foregoing. Some think it should be attached to past sins, as their occasioning cause. They say, the sins of former ages, though disallowed and disapproved, got head and grew to magnitude by the slowness of justice to act against them. Because forbearance was shown, encouragement was taken and sin multiplied. So that much of the sin formerly committed, though the guilt of it was chargeable upon its proper factors, was occasioned by the leniency of the Governor of the world. The more satisfactory way is to connect the words in question with the *remission* which took place through the forbearance of God. Forbearance left space for forgiveness, which could not come in otherwise. If justice had hurried on punishment, mercy would have been defeated and disappointed. Whilst the penalty lingers, gracious alternatives are offered and accepted: "And therefore will the Lord wait that he may be gracious unto you, and therefore will he be exalted, that he may have mercy on you; for the Lord is a God of judgment; blessed are all they that wait for him," Isa. xxx. 18. "The long-suffering of our Lord is salvation," 2 Pet. iii. 15.

The 26th verse is a repeat of the idea embodied in the 25th, with an extension of the atonement to the Gospel age. There are two things affirmed. The first is, that the proposition was a declaration of God's righteousness in pardoning sin before Christ came. The second is, that the same propitiation is the ground of right for the justification of believers since he came. The two statements are chronologically distinct. Otherwise they are but one idea, namely, that the virtue of the atonement covers the whole of time from the beginning to the end of the world: "To declare I

say *at this time.*" The time spoken of is not just the precise period when Paul wrote this, inclusive of a few years before and after, but the whole run of time, from Christ's suffering down to the judgment day, the goal at which time will stop and expire. Till then sin will be pardonable, and will in successive generations be pardoned to all believers. And the propitiation made on Calvary will be the standing warrant for this free exercise of mercy.

To conclude, the view of Christ's work set forth in this section of Scripture gives us confidence in him, and shows us that his sufferings were not simply exemplary, as some have said, but truly and properly expiatory. It is justly argued that his is no martyr-death, to seal the truth of his doctrine, or to attest his sincerity or to exemplify patience and courage. It is much more than this; the words we have investigated fairly import that many generations of men, who have lived and died before his appearance, were benefitted by his sufferings. If so, how? It could not be by his exemplary patience, which they neither witnessed nor heard the report of. The martyr's death can be an advantage only to posterity and to his compeers who witness his constancy in suffering, or read or hear of it afterward. For his predecessors, who dwell in dust, he can do nothing. He comes too late for them. Here is a thing unique, peculiar, without parallel. The man of sorrows, to whose sufferings was attached a mysterious virtue in relation to human sin, appears, after four thousand years have elapsed, and it is solemnly avowed that his death reflects a benefit backwards on all previous generations. By his example this could not be. They were saved from wrath through his blood. Here also is our hope. In him we also may find shelter. His name gives us boldness to walk into heaven itself. Mercy will lead us in, and justice standing by, give free consent to our triumphant entrance.

T. G.

Art. III.—ATOMS OF THOUGHT.

(Second Series.)

THE rationalist's love of Christianity is platonic.

Truth in the heart makes truth in the head of practical value. The head may reign, but it is the heart that rules. The true Christian is guided by spiritual intuition and moral taste, rather than by dogmatic thought. Religion does not argue, but aims straight at the conscience and the affections. It insures the acceptance of truth by first creating a sympathy for it. It softens

the ground before it sows the seed. It does not begin by splitting hairs, but by breaking the rock. One need not go far to see that orthodoxy of opinion may co-exist with heterodoxy of affection and life. Therefore, Christianity to secure right views, first secures right feelings. Only gain the heart, and you need not fear for the head. Only get the practical reason set to work, and the pure reason will soon come down from its eternal snows, and join it. "My son, give me thy *heart*."

Religion abases the high, and exalts the low. It makes great minds capable of little things, and little minds capable of great things.

We are not the slaves of destiny, but the masters of opportunity. If our logical reason lands us in philosophic necessity, our intuitional consciousness brings us back again to moral freedom.

Most minds take the hue of circumstances. They are the few who make circumstances take the hue of their minds.

There are two wonders equally great, namely, how much our "small heads" may know; and how much they may not know. On every subject our ignorance exceeds our knowledge in an infinite degree. The ocean of truth "lay quite undiscovered" even to Newton's mind, which was great *enough* to see and acknowledge that humiliating fact.

Superstition *invents* a God; Reason *intuits* Him; Revelation *manifests* Him; and Religion *knows* Him. It is only the *fool* who hath said in his heart, there is no God.

As a rule, last findings confirm the truth of first impressions.

Strictly speaking, we have an ignorance, rather than a knowledge, of things.

If Christianity is *in* us, it will be *on* us.

To Ritualism, religion is an art; to Christianity, it is a nature.

Heaven is nigher to the good man than earth. Where the mind is, the man is.

It is a wider stretch of credulity to admit a God who cannot answer prayer, either consistently with, or independently of, the natural laws, than it is to believe in a God that can. If I can answer prayer, surely God can also. "All my springs are in *Thee;*" and all the springs of the universe, too. Any effect is possible from an adequate cause. And what effect, that does not involve a contradiction, is impossible to the Cause of causes,—the one Efficient from whom are derived, and on whom are dependent, all the forces, physical and moral, of all worlds? The doctrine of prayer introduces a new sequence to the notice of the mind, and may complicate, but does not disturb, the established course of things. If I apply the law of magnetism by lifting a needle with a bit of loadstone, do I thereby repeal, or even interrupt, the law of gravitation? There is nothing in this new sequence—this

application of the law of magnetism—to disturb, but only to complicate, the mechanism of nature. As Dr. Chalmers truly says, "The doctrine of the efficacy of prayer may be no more in conflict than the doctrine of the composition of forces with the steadfastness of nature and the regularities of a harmonious universe." The principle of the efficacy of prayer, however, is one thing, and the rationale of it another. The doctrine is revealed, and the truth of it is experienced, but the philosophy of it is "a depth, beyond our diving." And would it not be a wonder and exception to a general rule if it were not? Thank God that metaphysics are excluded from the way of salvation, and that He has made facts, not philosophies, to be our guides through this world to a better!

Eloquence addresses us in many shapes. Thunder may be called the climax or "diapason full" of Nature's eloquence. The beauty of flowers and the sublimity of stars are eloquence addressed to the eye. There is an eloquence of words, and there is an eloquence of thoughts. The one is for the ear, the other for the soul. True poetry, which may be unrhymed as well as rhymed, is an eloquence that combines them both. Alas! that we should have so much poetry which is only eloquence of language. There is an eloquence of silence. "Speech is silvern; silence is golden." How the eye speaks!

> "The eye is naught, but O! the spirit
> That sometimes doth the eye inherit."

How full of meaning is attitude, gait, and movement! How the looks tell! and how wisdom maketh the face to shine with eloquence of soul! There is an eloquence, too, of ignorance, and

> "The loud laugh which speaks the vacant mind."

How want of culture and refinement records itself in every feature of the face, in every movement of the body, in every word and every action of the man! Nature's facts are the eloquence of the physical God, so to speak; whilst revelation's truths are the eloquence of the moral God. The universe is a thought of God's, objectivized and set in matter, to teach us by its eloquence. Had we the power to throw, and fix outside of us, our imaginations and our dreams, so full of varied and unspeakable eloquence, we should be creative, like God himself. And what, if under future developments and higher skies, we should have the power in some degree thus to body forth the eloquence that is in us, and give to airy fancies a local habitation and a name among the fixities of space and time? Who shall say to what the image of God, set off in the right direction, may not, in the long-run, go on and get to? "Man," says Chrysostom, "is the true shekinah." And if our nature, even now, is so eloquent of God, what may it not be, milleniums hence? Ritualism is eloquence to the senses, but who

ever got to heaven in "a painted ship, upon a painted ocean?" True religion is eloquence of the heart, and eloquence of the life. In proportion, it would seem, as the Pharisees were great in the sensational, they were little in the spiritual. But Christ came to reverse all that, and to say that holiness was a diviner eloquence than that of sounding trumpets and broad phylacteries. Locke's philosophy is eloquence of the reason, as Milton's poetry is eloquence of the imagination. And may not Newton's science be styled the eloquence of mathematics? Prayer is eloquence of the heart. Truth is the soul of eloquence, and language its body. True eloquence of preaching implies the three plenitudes of head-full, heart-full, and tongue-full. Some preachers' eloquence is more of the body than of the soul. If John Foster's manner had been as eloquent as his matter, how that great man would have pleased the "puir bodies" who heard him, and then left him "alone in his glory," with his sheet of ice around him! Robert Hall's was an eloquence of words, of taste, of velocity, and of face, but not of imagination and profound thought. Hence it was to be expected, as has been realized, that his great reputation would not live on in his books. In the living voice dwelt the charm of Hall's sermons. This great and good man was a rhetorician, but not a poet; an orator, but not a philosopher. But such preachers as Barrow and Vinet, although dead, yet speak to us, because their discourses possess the very qualities which Hall's confessedly lack. For fluency, mellowness, and grandeur of soul-eloquence, what can surpass the *Night Thoughts* of Young and the *Pensées* of Pascal? Here we have not only eloquent thoughts, but the eloquence of thought, running on like a twice-sacred Ganges, and "gathering splendour till it grows sublime." Mansel's *Limits of Religious Thought* is such an eloquence of metaphysics as was seldom seen before. But whether there be as much truth in this great book as there is of trying to get at it, the doctors are not at one; therefore, "who shall decide?" There is Coleridge: but, then, the eloquence of his metaphysics is dimmed by a haze of mysticism—

> "As when the sun
> Looks through the horizontal misty air,
> Shorn of his beams."

Transcendentalism in general, as well as Coleridge's, like Columbus's egg, wants cracking at the fundamental end, to make it stand upright. Ah, yes; there was the eloquence of Chalmers! We say *was*, for the eloquence of his books, and the eloquence of his living voice, are not co-equal, great as the former admittedly is. The eloquence of Chalmers! Utter that word ayont the Tweed, and you would see what the *vis fervida Scotorum* is made of! Thomas Chalmers is a name that falls like an electric spark on the

ears of Scotsmen, and fills them with "stirring memories," which they will not willingly let die." Chalmers was *a power* in Scotland, and in the world. In that "land of mountain and of flood," no power like him had appeared since the days of Knox; and for years to come his name will be "as ointment poured forth." You should have *heard* him! That eloquence *was* eloquence. It was godlike; *he* was godlike; and altogether, the thing was "as when an angel shakes his wings;" it was thought and emotion, both on fire and blazing outwards and upwards, like a divine fury; it was as a giant "cased in adamant," and beating, not the air, but the heights and depths of Christian philosophy, till they gave out such a grandeur as the ears of men had never heard before. It was the thunder, the lightning, the simplicity, the humility of the truth as it is in nature, as it is in philosophy, and as it is in Jesus. You should have *seen* him! it was like Moses with the glory on him; it was like Elijah, very jealous for the Lord God of Israel, when he, "like a comet burned," and "stood like Atlas, unremoved," before Ahab, Baal, and the people. There was a "psychic force" in the eloquence which moved the audience as by a mighty rushing wind. But words are impotent. You should have *seen* and *heard* him! Do you ask, "What *was* it like?" We can only reply, it was like ITSELF.

There was "eloquent George Steward." A true genius he. There is Parker—there is Punshon—there is Spurgeon, Guthrie, Binney, all, all eloquent men; but we will stop here—remembering the dictum of Solon, that a man is not to be pronounced upon till he is dead.

The life should preach as well as the sermon.

On common sense all that is rightly called philosophy bases itself. The stronger an argument opposed to common sense is, the weaker it is.

To lack discretion and energy to do quickly and effectually what the circumstances render necessary to be done, is a very common infirmity. All failure, comparatively speaking, is owing to this self-same deficiency of moral force. It was presence of mind and energetic will, to suit the occasion, which made Napoleon master of the situation, and well-nigh of the world itself.

When the bird in the bosom does not sing, it bites.

Some sermons come all from the head; others, all from the heart; they ought to come equally from both.

Do not wait for something "to turn up," but turn up something. Man is a maker, no less than a creature, of circumstances. "Micawber" always dies in a ditch, because he has not energy enough to get out of it.

The star is a magnitude *extensive*; the man is a magnitude *intensive*, and infinitely vaster than the star.

The poetry of books is the poetry of *aspiration*, the poetry of the Book is the poetry of *inspiration*. The one is an out-go from the man; the other is an in-come from God. If the inspiration of the Bible is not *sui generis*, there is no inspiration in it. The Bible and the star are both there, and both are self-evidently divine. But *how* they came to be so I do not care to inquire, because I feel I can never know. First beginnings lie altogether beyond our ken.

Only to the miserable does the time seem long. States of mind are the true measure of time. To the happy in heaven, "eternity will seem as a day," while to the miserable in hell, a day will seem as eternity; so much has the condition of the mind to do with the sense or perception of duration which apart from mind, is as nothing. Between the rising and the setting of the sun there would be but so much motion, and so much distance gone over, if the interval did not stand related to percipient mind. Is time, then, anything but a perception of the mind. And here, at least, does not Berkeley's great principle hold true, that *esse est percipi* (*to be is to be perceived*)? Constitution of mind on the one hand, and condition of mind on the other, are at least powerful factors as regards the sense of duration, if they are not actually creators of duration itself. In dreams a few minutes have seemed to be many days; and it is only in analogy with this fact, that the ephemeron's "little hour upon the stage," may, as is supposed, appear to the insect itself to be a sufficiently long lifetime.

Deathbed repentance unto salvation is possible only by miracle. The rule is, as men live so they die, because as they live so they *are*. If the eleventh hour is late, well may the twelfth hour be too late. When that hour is striking, what *can* be done. God, do doubt, is merciful, but he is also just; and the *law* is, as a man soweth so shall he also reap. But is it not said that, as the heavens are high above the earth, so is His mercy high above all our thoughts? True:—but it is only "towards them that *fear* Him." We are to make hay while the sun is shining, and not when he is setting. Faith, at first, is instinct, and so is born blind. Reason opens it eyes, and it becomes intelligence. The faith that is the gift of God is an intelligent faith. Superstition's faith is born blind, and remains so.

God is silent himself, but speaks through Christ. Christ is God come down to the level of our apprehension and wants. The Mediator bridges the interval between the moral human finite, and the Divine moral infinite, by laying his hand upon them both. In Christ "the whole Deity is known," as far as is of any practical importance to us. The Infinite One is revealed to us as our Father in heaven, and it is the Revealer who gives us *authority* to approach Him. As has been remarked, Christianity has done for

the world what the Philosophies never did; it has revealed God as an object of the *affection.* He is Love, and is therefore to be loved. The Divine affection begets the human. "We love Him, because he first loved us."

The silences of Revelation are not less remarkable than its voices. Beyond a certain point, it is reticence itself. As regards God himself, it is difficult to say whether it reveals or conceals him more. How striking the analogy between Nature and Revelation! It is only "in part" that we can know from either of them. Surely this parsimony of speech, and this paucity of ideas on themes the most important and tempting, are very unlike the Oriental mind; so full of language on the one hand, and of imagination on the other. The only explanation is, that He who set bars to the sea restrained that mind, and caused it to move as *He* "moved" it. Moses struck the key-note of Revelation, and that too, no less on the sounding-board of Nature than from the impulse of inspiration, when he uttered the grand dictum: "Secret things belong unto the Lord our God, and those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children, that we may do all the words of this law." Yes, the book of Nature and the book of Revelation are *self-evidently* by the same author. The one work being the issue of one order of Divinely guided natural laws; and the other the issue of another order of Divinely guided natural laws. Both are infallible and final as far as they go; but neither of them is anything more than a rough outline of a glory yet to be revealed. "First the natural, afterwards that which is spiritual."

In some men mind is the greatest thing: in many men wind is the greatest thing. The wise man speaks because he has something to say, and when he has said it, he has done. His words and his thoughts are commensurate. The fool talks because he has nothing to say, and when he has said it, he still goes on; and 'John Gilpin' went not faster. His words and his vanity are the measure of each other, and both are endless. All experience goes to show that, as a rule, great talkers are small thinkers. The reticence of wisdom, and the modesty of genius, are proverbial. But every fool *will* be meddling.

If your hobby is a bad one, ride it to death; if a good one, ride it, but don't let it ride you.

"But he is *so clever.*" And so is the devil. If you could have said,—He is "so good," you had spoken a great word.

Hume's scepticism represented Hume the metaphysician, not Hume the man. "I do not think so different from other people," was his own confession. Hume was a great philosopher, no doubt, but

"A man's a man for a' that."

More of brain makes the philosopher; more of God the Christian.

The spirit of dogmatism both seeks and evades truth, for the sake of system and sect.

Genius is the prism that refracts the white ray of truth into a thousand variegated hues.

I saw a mighty angel stand with one foot on astronomy, and the other on geology, and swear by Him that liveth for ever, and hath made man in his own image, that bigotry should be no more. And all that was within me responded, Amen!

Error often arises as much from want of consideration as from want of judgment. It no doubt arises also from waywardness of will. "Ye *will* not come unto Me."

In simplicity and humility of worship we find God; in complexity and magnificence of worship we find man.

Christianity is a faith; Churchianity is a creed.

The *moral* significance of the universe, not its mathematical extent, is its true greatness. And by so much as man physical is less than the universe, is man moral greater than the universe.

> "Know'st thou the value of a soul immortal?
> Behold yon midnight glory—worlds on worlds,
> Amazing pomp! redouble the amaze,
> Ten thousand add, and twice ten thousand more.
> Then weigh the whole; one soul outweighs them all;
> And calls th' astonishing magnificence
> Of unintelligent creation poor."

This we hold to be sound philosophy, as well as true poetry. When men learn to distinguish between *greatness* and *bigness*, they will cease to set the universe above man, and see that there is more of divinity stirring in the human mind than in all the suns and systems of immensity.

Christianity is divine philosophy in a human, and therefore an imperfect, form. Its distinctive subjects—matters belonging to a higher sphere of truth, had necessarily to suffer mutilation, as it were, in order to be *adapted* to the grossness and limitation of our faculties. They stoop to conquer, condescending as they do, to clothe themselves in the common homespun of human ideas and human words, to the end that all might understand, and none misunderstand them, at least, on the practical side; and so far on the speculative side, as to see on the one hand that higher intellect than man's is in them, and on the other, that they involve a vital relatedness to any economy out of sight, and to a mighty plan but partially revealed, and therefore not to be measured by "*our* philosophy." Let us never for a moment forget that Christianity has a twofold aspect, namely, a God-side, which is positively incomprehensible; no less than a man-side, which is equally comprehensible. But, is religion the only "wisdom of God in a mystery," that addresses itself to our human cognizance? What is nature but this? If the heavens declare the glory of God, do they

not also declare that both He and his ways are past finding out? Look and see. That *is* "a sad sight," if there be no *moral* God!

No physiologist, nor psychologist, can convince me that I am not a compound of two principles or elements, called matter and spirit. This is a fact of consciousness which I cannot deny; a truth of common sense, which I must accept. But at the same time I find myself profoundly and hopelessly ignorant of the intimate nature both of matter and spirit. Relatively, these two factors will not coalesce in any more than an empiric unity; and to finite beings, in whatever world, they must probably ever be regarded as dual. But whether they are metaphysically or at the ultimate bottom, two, whether to the Infinite they may not meet in the higher unity of an absolute identity, metaphysics can by no means tell. Your Drews and Priestleys may be eloquent pleaders, whose plausibilities can go only for what they are worth; but they are not competent judges on a vast question like this. Inasmuch as it is the very essence of our knowledge to be phenomenal and relative, we can never know the absolute nature of things. No doubt, from the manner of expressing our ideas, we cannot speak of properties or powers, but as powers and properties of some *thing* or *substance*, though we know nothing whatever of it besides the powers we ascribe to it. Abstract the properties, and the substance vanishes. Take away the powers of attraction and expulsion from matter, and what is the "rack" that is "left behind?" Likewise of spirit; take away the properties of the thinking and of feeling, which are phenomenal, and what remains but the *nirvan* of Buddhism? *To us*, however, in our finite modes of knowing, matter and spirit are, and probably ever will be, differentiated, "by the whole diameter of being," as one rather oddly expresses it. But what do we make of the apparent unity of these two substances in the personal *Me*, which speaks alternately of *my* body, and of *my* spirit? I reply, philosophically, we can make nothing of it. It is a mystery wrapped round with Egyptian darkness. But of this unity in regard to death and a future state we can speak as follows, being warranted to do so by a higher authority than apodictic philosophy:—Relative to us the two gases constituting water are as much a unity in the drop, as matter and spirit, or body and soul, are in theme. In their ultimate essence, these two gases may be one and the same for aught I at present know; but this I *do* know, that neither the phenomenal unity, nor the possible identity, renders the water-drop impossible to be resolved into its elements, so that the two gases shall stand apart, as if they had never been united or unified, each alone in the glory of a distinctive phenomenality. Now for the analogy. When the great chemist, Death, shall do his solemn office on you and me, will not the consequence be, not a destruction,

but a separation? for "then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit unto God who gave it." This will be *a* resurrection (*anastasis*) of what I philosophically know nothing, to be followed in due season, as we are bound to believe, if we interpret right, by *the* resurrection, all of which event that we understand being, that it implies another connection, or combination, if you will, with organized matter, both the matter and the organization to be of a much grander sort than we have any experience of, or can at present conceive. *Natural* immortality may be true for anything that can be proved to the contrary, but it is *revealed* immortality that we believe in. That which is *created*, be its nature what it may, can, by logical consequence, be also *annihilated;* and I must know from some source other than the thing itself, whether or not it will be annihilated. There is one thing, however, which we never *could* understand, namely, how anything can exist in an objective sense, which has no parts, and is not at a given time any more here than there. But a *substance* that is no-*where*, who shall be able to fit into our conception? The veriest fugitive image of the fancy has "parts." If it be of a house, it must have a top and a bottom, a chimney, and a door. And yet the special entity that conceives the image has no parts! Suppose all our ideas *do* come to us through the senses, what then? Are we therefore not intended for a future state? Has not *God* made both the senses and the things that give them their impressions? Besides, the senses are as spiritual as the soul itself, being properties of the soul and *not* of the body. "There is nothing in the mind that was not first in the senses." "No," replies Leibnitz, "nothing except the mind itself." The senses to be despised! Are they not the very "gateways" by which the great God himself, no less than his great universe, enters into our mind? It is quite certain, that, but for the senses, neither the idea of God, nor the image of anything he has made, would have come nigh us. Kant's *Critique* has done, at least, one good thing; it has proved that philosophers, *as such*, know nothing; know neither the beginning, the essence, nor the end of anything under the sun, or above it either. "I only know that I know nothing," said Socrates. And Socrates *was* a philosopher. But I am making this "atom" too big. Otherwise I should here quote Dr. Chalmers and others, to help to show that hyper-immaterialism is indeed a poor affair, and proves nothing but its own impotence and nescience. *Man* is a higher word than either materialism or immateralism; and as God intends him to live for ever, He can make him do so whatever he is made of. Nothing disgusts thinking people so much as one-sided and extreme views.

To live a thing is to know it. Do not ask the philosopher what

e *thinks* Christianity to be, but ask the Christian what he *finds* to be. And if it *does* give righteousness, and peace and joy in ıe Holy Ghost, what want we more, either as possession or as 'gument? Can the sceptic in all the wide field of his research, ıd anything *else* that gives these things? The "experimental" 'gument is a strength Infidelity never *could* make anything of. eorge Gilfillan says that Popery can stand anything but one, ımely, *common sense*. And we may add, so can its next door eighbour, Infidelity. JABEZ COLE.

ART. IV.—THE PRIMACY OF PETER AND HIS RESIDENCE AT ROME.

)ECENTLY a public discussion has taken place in Rome b between Romish ecclesiastics and Protestant ministers. The bject discussed involved the primacy of Peter and the Papal macy; for it related to the traditionally reported residence of e Apostle in the city of the Cæsars. The Italian press speaks in gh terms of praise of the good feeling and moderation with which e debate was conducted, and anticipates beneficial consequences m so remarkable and novel a proceeding. Singular the enomenon is; for whenever have protestors against Romish ors during ages past had the opportunity of debating with lesiastics of that communion in the seven-hilled city upon an al platform? Yet it is nothing more than the natural con- quence of events, which during the last two or three decades have e transpiring in the Italian peninsula. Through one of her , astute, cautious, and patriotic, and unquestionably far in ance of his countrymen as a diplomatist, Italy succeeded ugh the house of Savoy in making her voice heard in the ncils of Europe, and gaining a place among the Western ers in deciding upon eastern battle-fields questions deemed of eral interest. This admission into the Council of Nations was immense gain to Italy, and brought with it advantages hitherto ossessed, for promoting that policy of national unification which esented the cherished life-project of Cavour. Noble and riotic souls, who had struggled in bygone years against Papal regal despotism—but who, crushed by merciless tyranny, and ıded as conspirators, had been driven into banishment—now ed hopefully up again. It was not permitted to them yet to e any open and acknowledged part in realising the dreams of

their youth; neither were they allowed to revisit the homes of their childhood, and dwell again upon the vine-covered slopes of their beautiful land; it was indeed problematic whether they would not have long slept with their fathers before the Italy they loved became united and free. But events had entered upon that course which was destined to result in the freedom and unification of the people, who had been so long divided and doomed to anarchy and oppression by imperial and Papal misrule.

Not long after Italy had obtained recognition among European nations, the Franco-Austrian war broke out, by which the integrity of the quadrilateral was disturbed, and the geographical area of the Pope's temporal dominion seriously limited. It was anticipated by many that this collision of arms would accomplish all that was needed, and that no trace of alien authority would remain in the peninsula to prevent the unification of its people. But the "eldest son" of the Church stopped short; and few events have come upon the world more unexpectedly than the peace of Villa-franca. Delay came, and in some important respects delay had its advantage. It helped to intensify the enthusiasm of the people, to embitter them more deeply against Papal pretensions, and give the idea of nationality greater hold of their hearts. Something had been gained; provinces, which had suffered long under Austrian misrule, were once more Italian. A band of adventurers, led by one of whom—for his magnanimity and unselfish heroism, if for nothing else—Italy may justly be proud, succeeded in arousing the Sicilians and Neapolitans to throw off the detestable Bourbon yoke, and unite themselves to the Sardinian kingdom and the recently emancipated provinces of northern Italy. Then followed an attempt to force on the movement, which failed, and in its failure exposed leading Italian statesmen to bitter animadversion. But the unsettledness which agitated the recently united peoples showed that the delay was more a benefit than a misfortune; for it afforded opportunity to consolidate what had been gained; and to unite north and south more closely in a common political life; thus rendering it possible to take advantage more readily of any movement in European politics, and making it certain that what was still denied could not be much longer withheld. Italy sustained a sad loss by the death of the statesman under whose sagacious and patriotic guidance she succeeded in emerging from her obscurity; but still the work of emancipation and unification went on. Impatient spirits chafed at the delay, unable to understand the significance of the conservative and preparatory work which was in progress when active hostilities were absent, and the field was occupied by diplomatic measures, and the enthusiastic influence of a resuscitated national life. In the mean-

while the seat of government was removed, and the executive was no longer connected with an old Piedmontese town, but had moved a step nearer that city which of all others was acknowledged to be the proper capital of Italy. This change had a beneficial influence upon the work of unification; it exhibited a disposition on the part of the inhabitants of the northern portion of the peninsula to yield up for the general good any advantage that had been previously possessed, and was a pledge of the thoroughness with which the work should be carried out. Frenchmen protected the Pope in his temporal dominion, and Austrians held Venice; but Italians bated not a jot of heart or hope.

There came after the lapse of a few years the Prusso-Austrian war, and Italy was ready. The statesmen who directed the diplomacy of Prussia entered into an alliance with Italy. The Austrian forces were crushed amid the defiles of Bohemia, and Venice became again Italian. Nothing now remained under alien rule but the States of the Church, and another premature attempt to liberate them failed. Men wondered when the end would come. It was nearer than they expected. In 1869 a church council designated general, but not answering to the designation, which had been long talked about, was convoked at Rome. This ecclesiastical conclave was convened to consider and promulgate the dogma of papal infallibility. This was its special and peculiar work, and after much wrangling, and with serious lack of unanimity, this doctrine was promulgated on the 18th of July, 1870, and on the same day there was published in Berlin a declaration of war by France against Prussia. This declaration of war united the German peoples, and, possessed by a common enthusiasm and patriotism, they poured their armies into France like a resistless flood. In about a month after the first battle was fought, the French armies were broken and beaten, and the Emperor himself was a prisoner. Then came Italy's opportunity, for the power of France was all that had stood between her and the completion of her nationality during the past four years. The rulers prudently hesitated for awhile. They desired to avoid the risk of failure. But when the opportunity became unquestionable, they seized it, Rome was taken, and Italy was jubilant over a realised unity.

Contemporaneous with political nationalisation has been the spread of religious truth and freedom. Emancipation from Austrian and Bourbon rule threw open North-eastern and Southern Italy to the quickening influences of an earnest evangelism. The Waldensian Church proceeded to enter the open doors. The churches of Britain also, as well as the British and Foreign Bible Society, were not slow in accepting the privilege of aiding the Italians in realising a higher than political freedom. Religious freedom was among the first results of political emanci-

pation, and now, since the last remnants of foreign and priestly domination have been removed, the peninsula of Italy is as open to evangelistic labour as is Great Britain or the United States of America. The Waldensians have churches scattered throughout the country, and schools as well. Presbyterian and Methodist are also found along with other churches of Britain and America labouring to dispel the darkness and error with which long years of Papal tyranny and misrule have cursed that sunny southern land. Alongside of these agencies there has sprung up a Free Italian Church, which numbers one hundred congregations, and rather more than thirty thousand adherents, and an actual membership of one-third that number. In 1847 there was not a single place of Protestant worship in Italy. From 1847 to 1859, five congregations were established, numbering 400 communicants, and 1,000 hearers. This free church of Italy also conducts numerous week-day and Sunday schools, and is labouring to do a good work in educating the young. Its active agents are spreading themselves through all the provinces, and aided as they are, and will continue to be, by numerous sympathisers belonging to other nationalities, this free and unendowed community will exercise a cumulative influence over the future of Italy. It has already established five congregations in Rome, and gathered into fellowships many communicants, while several hundreds have presented themselves as catechumens for examination previous to joining the Church.

When the Italian troops entered Rome in 1870, there entered along with them freedom of thought and utterance. Ultramontane restrictions were swept away, and in every street and square in the city, men could engage in free and healthy intercourse on political and religious questions. Gavazzi, who is a foremost man in the Free Church of Italy, conducted service in the city for weeks, holding as many as eleven meetings a week. Hundreds of all classes and of both sexes attended these meetings. The British and Foreign Bible Society established a depot in Rome, and selected for its home one of the best streets. It is not long since it was a crime punishable with five years imprisonment, to circulate the Scriptures; now depots are established and colporteurs are traversing the country. There are eight of these colporting agents in Rome, and not many months after the soldiers of Italy entered the city not fewer than 20,000 copies of the Scripture were in circulation there. The gospel is freely preached almost within the hearing of the Pope himself, and if he be so disposed, he can look from the windows of his self-elected prison and read the sign-board by which the Bible Society announces that the Holy Scriptures are now freely offered for sale. A Bible Society has now, in 1872, been publicly inaugurated at Rome. The future is certainly rich in

promise, and now we have public debates in the city where free speech has been strangled for centuries. The liberty enjoyed in this respect is indicated by the subject of discussion. The assumed primacy of the Pope rests upon two grounds—First, that Peter was chief among the Apostles—and second, that he was bishop of Rome, and all who have since occupied the See are lineally his successors, and invested with his authority. The recent debate involved the groundwork of Papal pretensions. It has been publicly argued in the metropolis of ultramontanism that Peter was never at Rome, and consequently could not have been bishop of a church there. So that even if a primacy be allowed to him, and its permanence considered essential for the church, as liberal Roman Catholics are disposed to allow and consider, yet that primacy is not necessarily connected with the See of Rome. Protestants, of course, question this Petrine primacy altogether, and the fact that not by liberal Catholics, who are anti-ultramontanists, but by leal-hearted Protestants, this subject has been debated under the shadow of the Vatican itself, augurs for Italy an emancipation higher and nobler than that which has been already won. Armies have done their work, and, by the rude shock of battle, have broken and scattered despotisms which tyrannised over the bodies and souls of men. The conflict is now of another kind, and has to be prosecuted upon a higher plane. The rough action of the soldier has prepared the way for the debater, the teacher, and the preacher; and we cannot but admire the manner in which a numerous band of Italian patriots are bending their energies to the work, and we wish them and their English and American helpers, God-speed.

Ultramontanism will not be vanquished without a struggle; it is now engaged in actively seeking to counterwork the movement of popular education. The priests find their way into the dwellings of the people, and, abandoning the old policy of terrorism, they endeavour, with gentle and pathetic eloquence, to point out the thousand and one dangers to which children are exposed when left in the hands of heretics. Generally, the good sense of the people defeats the machinations of the priests, and, though they have also established schools in which to promulgate the supremacy and sovereignty of the Pope, there is a steady addition in the attendance at schools under Protestant management. Pio Nono vainly endeavours to stop the tide of free thought and action now rising in Italy. He may forbid the members of the College of Theologians, or any other member of the Church of Rome, to publicly debate with Protestant preachers, but the tide will rise higher, and flow onwards notwithstanding. And unless the Vatican authorities change their position, and enter into new relations with advancing opinion, they must inevitably be swept away. The debate on the presence of Peter in Rome is obviously regarded by Papal autho-

rities as a failure, and they have no desire to prolong the contest; but the discussion will be carried on, nevertheless, and the free ventilation of the question will in due time prove fatal to Papal pretensions. Current movements in Italy, growing out of recently completed nationalisation, afford a favourable opportunity to invite attention to the primacy of Peter and his residence in Rome, questions which lie at the foundation of ultramontane hierarchism.

Are there, then, sufficient reasons for attributing apostolic and ecclesiastical primacy to Peter, and lineally connecting that primacy with the successive occupants of the Romish See? We naturally turn to the New Testament, and ask what is said there concerning the establishment of an office with such important functions. The stock passages which are advanced in the controversy are familiarly known: Matt. xvi. 18, 19; John xxi, 15, 16, 17, and a few others, such as those in which Peter's name stands first in the catalogue of Apostles, and in which he is instructed, when converted, to strengthen his brethren. And certainly so huge a structure as the ultramontane hierarchy was never before reared upon such weak and insecure foundations. We do not purpose to examine these proof passages critically and exegetically, with a view to show that all laws of language and rules of interpretation are against the Romish glosses. There is another and far more effective method of dealing with the question. The brief statements adduced from the evangelistic records may be contemplated in the light of early Church life and operations, and, thus considered, we may ascertain whether those in whose presence they were spoken, and others whom they taught, accepted these utterances in the same sense in which modern Romish doctors propound them. If Peter exercised the functions of acknowledged headship in the first Christian churches, and if these communities submitted to his authority as natural and right, then there may be reason to allege that, by the texts referred to, it is evident that primatial precedence and power had been granted to him; but if he exercised no such authority, and if submission was not made to him as a right, then these hierarchical claims on his behalf cannot be regarded as having any foundation in the New Testament records.

Let us, then, inductively review this field of early Church history, with reference to this question of the primacy. The subject in dispute is not as to whether Peter occupied a foremost place, and exercised great influence in the early Christian community. This is conceded; and it may have been due, partly to his age, partly to his long and intimate connection with Christ, and partly to his natural impetuosity and boldness. But did he exercise the government and authority claimed for the primacy, or was his eminence based upon purely personal grounds? This is the point to be determined, and determined, as we think, by an appeal to facts.

Shortly after the ascension of Jesus (the historian of the "Acts" relates), Peter called the attention of his fellow-disciples to the vacancy caused in the Apostolate by the fall of Judas, and proposed that steps should be taken to supply the vacancy. Peter did not undertake himself to make the appointment. He assumed no greater authority than he allowed to each of the one hundred and twenty disciples who were at that time assembled in the Holy City. And yet this was a fitting and favourable opportunity of asserting his supremacy; that is, if his supremacy was the analogue of the Pope's. When the number of believers had multiplied, and the management of Church interests had become more complex and difficult, there arose dissatisfaction on the part of the Hellenists concerning the administration of Christian beneficence. They considered that the widows of Aramaic, or Palestinian Jews, obtained more than their legitimate portion from the Church funds, while the widowed Hellenists were overlooked. To allay the discontent and prevent similar complaints in future, the diaconate was established. But by whom? Not by Peter; but by the disciples themselves, upon the recommendation of the apostles. Peter's name is never mentioned in connection with the transaction. The twelve proposed the measure, and gave their reasons for making the proposal. The Church accepted the proposal, and selected "seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom." The apostles solemnly sanctioned the selection, and the seven men entered upon the discharge of their duties. Here was a new office established in the Church, and Peter does not appear to have exercised any other or higher authority in the affair than the rest of the apostles.

The persecution consequent upon the death of Stephen dispersed the Church at Jerusalem. The apostles still remained in the city, or the neighbourhood, but the members of the Church were scattered abroad throughout Judea and Samaria. In this dispersion, Philip, the deacon, found his way to Samaria, and proceeded at once to preach Christ to the people. The whole city was moved, and a blessed reformation was accomplished in many of its inhabitants. Intelligence of this awakening in Samaria was conveyed to Jerusalem, and the apostles then deemed it worthy of attention, and Peter and John were immediately sent to that city. Now how does this mission to Samaria quadrate with the primacy? Peter and John, in their apostolic and presbyterial capacity, are deputed to superintend for awhile the evangelistic work in the ancient metropolis of the ten tribes. They undertake this mission at the request, and under the authority, of the whole college of apostles. They act jointly, and with equal power. Where is the supremacy attributed to Peter and arrogated by his pretended successors? There is not a shadow of it discernible here. Peter accepts official duty

at the request and under the authority of others, and he enters upon the discharge of his duty jointly with a fellow apostle, who, in so far as this narrative furnishes information, was in every respect his equal.

By a remarkable course of events Peter was conducted to Cæsarea, and to the house of Cornelius, a Roman centurion, residing there. To this man and his household he preached Christ, and offered the mercy and grace of the Gospel. He associated with these Gentiles, and accepted their hospitalities. News of this mission speedily reached the apostles and brethren in Judea, and when Peter returned he was called to account for his conduct, and compelled to justify himself. The explanation he offered consisted of a narrative of the marvellous manner in which he had been led to visit Cornelius, and the gracious displays of divine presence and power he had witnessed there; and was so satisfactory to the assembled apostles and brethren that they "glorified God, saying, Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life." Peter does not tell the rest of the apostles and the Church that he is superior to them all, and that they have no right to ask for any explanation from him. He admits their right to an explanation, and gives a detailed account of his conduct, along with the reasons by which he justified himself. Think of a Pope doing this. Peter's pretented successors maintain that they are appointed to judge all men, and that none have any right to judge them; neither are they open to reproof by any mortal man. If the bishops of Rome had borne the slightest resemblance to Peter, the past centuries of European history would have told a different and a better tale.

After the kingdom of Christ had been considerably extended by the evangelistic labours of Paul, Barnabas, and others, many of the churches were disturbed by teachers who insisted upon circumcision as necessary to salvation. This was especially the case in the Church at Antioch, in Syria, from which Paul and Barnabas had been sent forth as missionaries, and to which they returned after their first journey through Asia Minor. So violent became the disputation on this point, that it was resolved at last the whole question should be submitted to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, and an authoritative declaration obtained by which the churches might in future be guided. Paul, Barnabas, and others, representing both sides of this question, went up to Jerusalem, and, shortly after, there assembled in that city the first Christian ecclesiastical assembly that ever met to decide questions of doctrine and practice. Now, certainly, if such a thing as the supremacy existed, here was a fitting opportunity for its manifestation. Does not the Pope claim authority, in virtue of being Peter's successor, to decide all questions of faith and practice? Has not this authority been recently declared with all possible solemnity?

And are not millions of avowed believers in Christ, whatever may be their individual convictions, required to receive the utterances of the papal chair, as free from error, and sacredly obligatory in every instance? If these pretensions of the Pope have any foundation in fact, may we not expect that Peter did on the occasion of this first Christian council what the head of the Romish Church now claims the power to do as his successor? For ourselves, we consider this Jerusalem council as a crucial circumstance in this inductive inquiry; and if the grounds of claim connot be historically established here, we feel disposed to regard the whole circle of Ultramontanist hierarchical pretensions as utterly unfounded and baseless. What are the contents of the history? The deputation from Antioch was not instructed to submit this controversy to Peter as the supreme head or judge in matters of dispute. His name is not mentioned as one possessing chief authority in such cases. The apostles and elders are asked to consider the whole question and give their decision. And when Paul and his co-deputies arrived at Jerusalem, they were received, not by Peter as one possessing primatial authority, but by the Church, and the apostles, and elders, to whom they stated briefly the purpose of their mission. What would be thought of a deputation to Rome, seeking a decision upon questions of faith and practice, which quietly ignored the Pope, and treated him as an equal among many, and not as the head over all? Would such a course harmonise with the pretensions of the Papacy? The course pursued by Paul and his companions can only be explained on the obvious ground that Peter was not supreme among the apostles in the Papal sense and authoritative head of the Church. The assembly was not convoked by Peter; the members of it appeared to have come together by common understanding, in which there was probably general acquiesence at the preliminary meeting, at which the representatives in the discussion were heard. Peter did not preside at this council. He spoke and gave his opinion, as did others, who were interested in the matter. Some deference was due to his opinion on account of the part he had taken in preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles; but anything beyond this does not appear to have been accorded to him at this council. James appears to have presided. At any rate, after the discussion had run its course, and both sides had been sufficiently heard, he summed up and indicated the decision to be given; this decision the assembled apostles and elders accepted, and this decision they promulgated. Now, certainly, if any occasion ever offered itself upon which Peter might have appeared as primate and head of the Church, it was at this ecclesiastical gathering at Jerusalem. The presidency was legitimately his, if he were supreme in the

councils and government of the Church. Either in person or by representative he ought to have occupied this position, if the pretensions of modern papacy have to obtain any support from the early records of the Church. But he was just a member of the assembly, and spoke as a member, whose opinion certainly deserved respect, but who was not entitled to anything more than this on account of his official position and dignity. He was not invited to any marked distinction in the council, and there is not a vestige of evidence here in favour of the enormous pretensions of his supposed successors. The brethren who were sent to Antioch along with Paul and Barnabas were not sent in Peter's name; nor were they invested with any authority from him. They were sent by the apostles and elders, with the whole Church, and were messengers, not of Peter, but of the whole assembly which had met in Jerusalem and given judgment upon the question in dispute. The decree gives no intimation of any primacy or prerogative which Peter possessed over and above his brethren. The title of the letters simply was, "The apostles, and elders, and brethren send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia." Not a word about Peter as a judge of this and other controversies, or,—as his pretended successor claims to be,—the divinely-appointed ruler of the Church in all countries. Such is the history of this remarkable transaction, and it is impossible to conceive anything more thoroughly subversive of the arrogant claims set up at Rome.

The Epistles are equally silent respecting the primacy of Peter, and their contents conclusively show that he never was regarded as the authoritative head and ruler of the Church. In some instances, as in the Church of Corinth, where particular gifts and special attachments had coloured the office and work of preaching, others were preferred to Peter, and regarded as more eminent than he. And when this state of feeling was corrected, it was corrected, not on the ground that it was disrespectful to Peter, the primate of the whole Church, but for the reason that it was inconsistent with the true character and conditions of Christian life. There is not a single instance recorded in which any of the apostles or evangelists sent forth by the Churches recognised and admitted the jurisdiction of Peter as primatial and supreme. Churches were founded, presbyters and deacons appointed, and discipline administered, without any reference either to Peter or anyone else, as sole and supreme ruler over the Christian communities. Peter himself, in his letters to the Churches, is equally silent respecting any special prerogatives or powers with which he had been invested. The condition and procedure of these churches of the first century cannot be consistently explained in connection with a primacy. The apostles were in a degree independent of each other, while at

the same time they exercised a common jurisdiction, as the necessities and emergencies of the Churches required.

The case of Paul seems deserving of special consideration in connection with this subject. He claimed for himself a perfect equality and independence. And this was allowed by Peter and the other Apostles, who gave to him the right hand of fellowship, in acknowledgment of the grace given to him, and the validity of his call and equality in official position. Gal. ii. Paul discharged all the duties of Apostleship, and offered submission to no man except what was required by Christian charity and brotherhood. He even rebuked Peter himself, when at Antioch he acted inconsistently between Jews and Gentiles, to say the least of it; a very improper thing—and especially as it was done publicly—if Peter was not only his ecclesiastical superior, but the head of the whole church. Indeed, it seems strange how in the face of the New Testament Scriptures the enormous pretensions of the Papal primacy can command the assent and approval of thoughtful and reflective persons. There is a singular fascination about it, certainly; but how its bewitching glamour can impose upon men who are otherwise rational, and willingly respect the ordinary laws of evidence, is more than we dare venture to attempt to explain.

We now propose to consider the question in the light of post-apostolic history. And perhaps it may be proper to state briefly the claims put forth by the head of the Papacy. The Bishop of Rome claims to succeed Peter in the full possession of the authority and dignity of the vicariate of Christ, to which Peter himself as head and pastor of the universal Church was appointed by Christ; and he is by consequence the first and greatest of all bishops and patriarchs, having universal pre-eminence over the whole church; kings, princes, and all persons of meaner rank, are bound to be subject to him, and this subjection is necessary to personal and eternal salvation. The authority of all prelates, pastors, and other dignitaries and ministers of the Church is derived from him, for in him resides the plenitude of spiritual and ecclesiastical power. All education, both elementary and higher, must be conducted in subordination to his command. He alone can decide questions of faith and practice, and synodical decisions are of no authority until they are confirmed by him. He constitutes in himself the highest appellate court, and by him the judgment of a council may be reversed. The Pope alone can convene a general council, and he only is superior to its action and decisions. The right of presiding rests with him or his representative. He can censure, suspend, or depose bishops and pastors, and cancel at his pleasure such censure, suspension, or deposition. He himself cannot be called to account in any instance or by any authority; and to him

lawfully belongs the rank and title of a temporal prince. These prerogatives and all implied in them are audaciously asserted, and strenuous efforts are made to give them effect, ecclesiastically and politically. We have seen that they have no foundation in the New Testament, and we venture to affirm that ecclesiastical history will also show the papacy to be a huge organised usurpation.

During the earlier years of Christian activity, and indeed up to the time when the city was destroyed by Titus, the church in Jerusalem occupied a pre-eminent place. After the capture and overthrow of the city the pre-eminence was distributed, and Antioch in Syria, Alexandria in Northern Africa, and Rome in Italy, became centres with which the churches in the surrounding districts more or less closely affiliated themselves. Antioch was one of the most ancient Christian communities, and from this church the work of Christianisation was pushed westward. Alexandria was a great commercial centre, the principal city in Northern Africa and the home of philosophy and letters. Rome was the empire city and centre of imperial rule. For these and similar reasons these cities became centres of ecclesiastical organization and activity, and the chief presbyters gradually gained prestage and power by consequence. But Rome had no such pre-eminence as has been claimed, nor did the Christian bishops recognize in any sense the supremacy of the Bishops of Rome. The occupant of the imperial See took comparatively little part in the numerous controversies which agitated the Churches during the first four centuries, and in no case was any disputed question settled by the Pope. The opinions of the Basilidians, Valentinians, Carpocratians, and other Gnostic sects, as well as those of the Montanists and Chilliasts, were controverted by various church fathers, and in no single instance did a Romish bishop interpose and claim by any prerogative given to him to decide the whole controversy. There were three controversies in which the Bishops of Rome did take part—those relating to the observance of Easter, Clinical baptism, and penitential discipline —and in none of these instances were the Popes able to impose their views upon other churches. The views of the Romish bishops were rejected, a different usage was maintained, and these bishops were helpless. Irenaeus, who was Bishop of Lyons, in Gaul, wrote an expostulatory letter to Victor of Rome, when that prelate sought to compel uniformity in the observance of Easter. Victor desisted, and the question was not settled till the council of Nice. The Churches of the West were not absolutely subject to Rome either in doctrine or practice, and in respect to penitential discipline the Spanish Synod of Elvira, even as late as the fourth century, adopted decisions differing widely from Romish practice.

Not one of the general councils of the early church was convoked by the Popes; and neither a Pope nor a representative of the papacy can be shown conclusively to have presided by prescriptive right over any of these great ecclesiastical assemblies and exercised supreme authority. The first great council which met at Nice was convened by the Emperor Constantine, principally to consider the Arian Controversy, but also to determine matters of minor importance. The Emperor himself opened the assembly, and there were perhaps not fewer than four persons who with something like equal dignity filled the office of President. Two of these four belonged to the Eastern Churches, one to the North African Church, and one to the Churches of the West; but this one was not either of the presbyters who represented the Bishop of Rome, but a Spanish bishop, Hosius of Cordova, a man of great repute at that time. The second general council was convened by the Emperor Theodosius I., and met in the city of Constantinople. No western bishop attended this council. Damasus, who was at that time bishop of Rome, was never so much as consulted; and there is some reason to think that the meeting of the Synod was contrary to his will. At the earlier sessions Meletius, of Antioch, presided; at the latter Gregory, of Nazianzum. The third council was assembled by imperial authority, and met at Ephesus in 431. Cyril, of Alexandria, presided, and presided in his own name, and not in the name of the Pope, as some modern Romanists allege. The presidency depended upon the will of the Emperor and the elective power of the Synod, and not upon any prescriptive right or possessed prerogative. If Cyril represented the Pope, how came it to pass that the Pope had a separate legation at the council? When Cyril became a petitioner in relation to the Nestorian controversy, the chair he vacated for awhile was occupied by the bishop of Jerusalem and not by any representative of the Pope. In the fourth council, held at Chalcedon in 451, the legates of Leo presided; but the presidency was nominal. The imperial commissioners introduced the subjects of discussion, and they also directed the course of debate and brought the controversies to an issue. In this council the position and privileges of the Constantinopolitan See were decided contrary to the views, speeches, and endeavours of the Romish representatives. At the fifth general council, which met at Constantinople in 553, under the authority of Justinian I., and while Pope Vigilius was present in that city, the Patriarch of Constantinople was appointed president. At the sixth general Synod, which also met at Constantinople at the bidding of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, the legates of Rome exercised a sort of presidency; but the Emperor's deputies sat in the chief place, were named first, proposed the subjects of debate, declared on which side of a question the majority was,

adjourned the council when they thought proper, and delivered all important decisions. The relation of the early Popes to the question of the supremacy is conclusively shown by the appearance of the papal legates at the council of Ephesus, though Leo knew that the Emperor had named Cyril as president. Do the Popes now admit the right of kings to convoke councils, and appoint whom they please to preside, else leave the presidency to the elective choice of the assembly? And yet this was unquestionably the case in respect of every council unanimously acknowledged general by East and West. The pretensions of the Pope to supremacy cannot endure the searching test of historic inquiry. They can only be sustained by unfounded, but persistently reiterated assertions, and a culpable misrepresentation of the facts of history.

No decree of a general synod, whether that decree related to doctrine or practice, required the confirmation of the Bishops of Rome in order to give it authority in the universal Church. After the empire became nominally Christian, the emperors assumed supreme authority. Councils were a device of theirs, by which to secure as general a concurrence as possible in faith and practice, and by imperial authority they gave effect to the synodical decrees, and demanded submission to them throughout the empire. Constantine ratified the decisions of the first council, and succeeding emperors did the same, Justinian even proceeding so far as to banish all who disregarded the decrees of the fifth General Synod. Not a shadow of a reason can be given, rendering it historically probable that the decrees of the Ecumenical Synods depended for validity and authority upon confirmation at Rome. So far was this from being the case, that in several of these great ecclesiastical assemblies decisions were given in opposition to the will of the Romish See. As instances, reference may be made to the relative dignity of the Sees of Rome and Constantinople, as decided by the Chalcedonian council; and the wearisome debate on the three chapters which was decided by a decree of the second Constantinopolitan council. It was a usual custom, after the termination of the general synodical assemblies, to request the acquiescence of absent bishops, and, as the Bishops of Rome were rarely present, their consent was generally solicited in this way; but the same compliment was paid to all absent bishops, and whether they consented or not did not in any way affect the validity of the decrees when issued under imperial sanction. The story of Pope Silvester confirming the decrees of the Nicene Council, is a pure fabrication, invented centuries after the Synod, because the facts of history were utterly inconsistent with developing Romish pretensions. No fact can be better established upon historical grounds than that Constantine, in his own name, and by imperial authority, ratified

the decrees of the Synod. Silvester was never consulted as to the propriety of convoking a council, nor was he ever asked to give validity to its decisions by any confirmatory act. The only references that can be given for the pretended position and power of the Pope in the early synods and discussions of the Church, are the Isidorean and other forgeries, which can be definitely traced to the ninth century or thereabouts, when the politically convulsed state of Europe offered the Romish bishops opportunities for gaining temporal dominion and ecclesiastical authority, of which they were not slow to take advantage. Nearly a thousand years of the Christian era had passed away before ever a Pope ventured to promulgate a doctrinal decision claiming acceptance by the universal Church. All previous utterances of the Romish See on questions of faith and practice, if directed against any heretical opinion or schismatic practice, were always submitted to a synodical assembly, and only became of any authority when approved and sanctioned by general council of the Church. It was not any prerogative possessed by the Bishop of Rome, which other bishops did not possess, that gave authority to his views on dogma or discipline; but the acceptance and promulgation of his views by a council, and, failing this acceptance and ratification of any dogmatic teaching he pronounced, or practical measure he propounded, neither the one nor the other was considered in any sense obligatory.

During the earlier centuries of the Christian era the Popes of Rome were not considered to possess chief authority, either legislative, administrative, or judicial. And yet pretensions to the highest power in these respects constitutes the very pith of modern papal claims. It is true that the Sardican council, in 347, furnished subsequent Bishops of Rome with a pretext to claim a wider than diocesan or metropolitan authority. For the first time it was conceded to Pope Julius, as a personal privilege, but not as a rightful prerogative, that he might appoint judges to hear a case in the second instance against a bishop, on the spot, aided by a legate of his appointing, and, if necessary, to hear the case himself by further appeal. This concession appears to have been granted on account of the part he had taken in the controversy between the Arians and Athanasians, and the relation in which he stood to imperial authority. It was not considered an inalienable prerogative. The council also was not ecumenical. Very few Eastern bishops were present at it, and before the concession was granted, those who were present withdrew, because of divergent views in the controversy, and formed themselves into a separate assembly in the neighbourhood. The character of this Sardican decision is obvious, from the fact that the Eastern and North African Churches repudiated it entirely, characterizing it as an arrogant claim; and the Western Churches considered themselves at liberty either to obey

or disobey. It was never considered of authority anywhere until the forgeries of the ninth century had gained credence and acceptance in the West. Cyprian of Carthage declares that no prelate in the Church claimed primatial and universal authority, or sought to compel his colleagues to yield him submission, since every prelate was perfectly free, and could no more rule over another, or judge him, than he himself could be ruled over and judged by another. In no instance did the Bishop of Rome exercise any power of veto in the great synods of the Church, and conciliar decrees were as obligatory upon him as upon any other bishop. He was not superior to all, but was subject to the judgment of his brother prelates, and required, equally with others, to obey the laws of the Church. When Pope Julius violated the rule of the Church, and held communion with persons who had been condemned by councils, the Syrian bishops rebuked him, and reminded him that he was not superior to the decrees and usages of the Church. When Pope Celestine was disposed to admit persons into Christian fellowship who had been excommunicated by the North African Church, the bishops of that Church interposed and demanded that he should observe and respect the Nicene decrees. All attempts to secure appellate jurisdiction on the part of Rome were steadily resisted for some centuries. Councils condemned them, and bishops, East and West, repudiated them. Indeed, the earlier Bishops of Rome themselves disclaimed appellate jurisdiction, as in the case of Marcion. The right to depose and restore bishops was never allowed by the early Church to the Popes. These acts of deposition were effected by provincial, patriarchal, or diocesan synods. In these courts the accusations were discussed, and sentences pronounced, as determined by the Nicene Council. And their decisions were deemed irrevocable.

The Bishops of Rome were frequently called to account for their faith and practice. So far from being considered supreme, they were held amenable to the voice of the Church expressed in council, and more than once they were deposed by imperial authority. Sixtus III. was examined concerning an accusation alleged against him, by a council convened under the authority of the Emperor Valentinian. And Symmachus assembled a council himself to investigate a charge that had been preferred against him. The present primacy of the Pope is a thing of growth, and centuries of church existence and activity had elapsed before the pretension took anything approaching to definite form. Dispensatory power, excommunicative authority, and other prerogatives involved in the primacy are of comparatively recent date. In the early centuries of the Church no such idea was entertained in any quarter as that dispensation from church laws could be obtained from the Romish Bishops; and if he withdrew from communion

with particular bishops or churches, this withdrawal did not at all disturb the relation of these bishops or churches to other portions of Christendom. Numerous churches maintained an independence of Rome, and, in some instances, the independence has continued till the present day. It is well known that the ancient British churches were not included in the hierarchy of Rome, and the Waldensians have maintained a separate and independent existence, despite all attempts to subdue them. The Ethiopian and Mesopotamian Churches have never yielded to papal influence; and the existence of the Greek Church, over which the Pope exercises no control, abides in its separatist state as a standing protest against the arrogance of the Papacy.

The verdict of history is against popish claims, and only by audacity and falsification can this enormous usurpation be sustained. Events are now transpiring by which its power of endurance will be tested to the utmost; and we are not without hope that it will be shivered and broken in the process. It is a marvellous organisation certainly, but the progress of history will search out its weak places, and ultimately write it among the things that are past. In another paper we may, perhaps, bring under consideration the reputed residence of Peter in the city of Rome, and his episcopal oversight of the Church there. A. J.

Art. V.—THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

Catholicism and the Vatican. With a Narrative of the Old Catholic Congress at Munich. By J. Lowry Whittle, A.M. London: H. S. King & Co. 1872.

CHRISTENDOM is not likely soon to forget the 18th of July, 1870. While on that day the courier was speeding towards Germany with the French declaration of war, the papal hierarchy assembled in solemn session at the Vatican, were promulgating the Bull *Pastor Eternus*. This Bull declares the Pope to be universal Bishop—to have "full and supreme, ordinary and immediate power, over all and every church, and every pastor and believer, in all matters relating to faith, morals, discipline, and the government of the church." It also declares him to be the infallible teacher "when speaking *ex cathedra*, that is when filling the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians."

These two events, so momentous, if judged by their consequences, were not merely related to each other by bare coincidence in time. In a remarkable address which he delivered just before last Christmas on the occasion of his installation as Rector of the University of Munich, in the presence of a large academical audience and of distinguished members of the Bavarian Court and Government, as well as of foreign ambassadors, Dr. Döllinger pointed out that these two events were by no means destitute of moral connection, both in their causes and effects. "In France," he says, "the period since 1789 has been not inaptly termed an age of lies. Her historians have inoculated her with a profound untruthfulness, and in the word 'Chauvinisme' the French have invented a name for the monomania under which they labour of considering themselves the first nation in the world. France has indeed erected her self-worship into an infallible dogma comprised in three articles: 1st. That the French nation is the noblest and can never err. 2nd. That she has an inalienable right to rule over German territory up to the Rhine. 3rd. That the French army can never be beaten. And, accordingly, on the 18th of July, the French declaration of war against Germany, 'fell like a ripe fruit from this Upas tree.'" And it did not come alone. On the same day Rome, the second metropolis of Latinism, declared war against German science and intellect. It has been repeatedly stated on good authority that the infallibility of the Pope was erected into a dogma mainly with the view of counterworking and checkmating the Germans. Recent events but serve to confirm this view; and the champions of the Curia do not hesitate to acknowledge that it was a master-stroke of policy rendered necessary by German independence of thought in the spheres of science, history, and theology. Father Dalgairns, in a clever article in the *Contemporary Review* for Aug., 1871, on "The Bearing of Infallibility on Religious Truth," has frankly confessed this much. Furthermore "The Roman declaration of war against Germany, like the Parisian, was the result of an age of lies." One of the theses which, in his declaration of March, 1871, Döllinger expressed himself as being willing to argue before the Synod of Bishops at Fulda, or the Munich Archiepiscopal chapter, was that the twin dogmas of the Vatican had only become possible because "The Bishops of the Latin countries—Spain, Italy, South America, and France, who formed the great majority in Rome—had been led astray by false text-books systematically introduced into all the clerical seminaries in those countries; such as those of Alphonso Liguori, Perrone, Cardoni, and Ghilardi." In Germany the objectionable seminary system of education is only partially in operation. Catholics, instead of "shutting themselves up in a citadel of obscurantism," mix in university life, which in that Empire is so independent and

invigorating. Hence the more urgent need of paralysing German science once for all.

That papal absolutism is based on usurpation, forged decretals, and garbled and manufactured history, is now incontestable—Catholics themselves being witnesses. For has not "Janus" told us the painful story at length? It is now equally notorious that the final steps which were taken in order to impose papal infallibility on the Catholic world, were of a piece in their mendacity with those which had preceded them. So coercive and disreputable were the proceedings the Curia thought it necessary to adopt, that they deprived the council of all claim to be considered œcumenical, or a free deliberative assembly. It has been called a "Synod of sycophants." One who took part in it called it *Ludibrium Vaticanum* (the Vatican Farce). Contrary to all precedent, the Pope drew up rules of procedure that were to bind the council. Motions were prepared under direct Curial inspiration. Opposition speakers could not introduce motions unless they had been submitted to a committee of examination, and to that committee they had not access. If in the council-chamber they had the hardihood, like Strossmayer, to venture on remonstrance, to make inquiries, to demand explanations, or to give expression to liberal sentiments, their unpalatable utterances were drowned in clamour. The minority were alternately bullied and flattered; prohibited from holding extra-conciliar meetings; were subjected to *espionage*, and even in some cases to police surveillance; besides having to bear insult and calumny. Whole bundles of letters and papers belonging to the Fathers, Dr. Friedrich tells us, were detained at the Post Office. Two Oriental bishops of the minority were imprisoned by the Inquisition. The Pope threw himself with zest into the struggle, condescending to reproach recusant Fathers when they came to the Vatican, but showing himself full of suavity to those who were, or might be made to be, his obedient puppets; sometimes, as the affable host, he showed them the wonders of the palace, pointing their attention to a picture in the Vatican library, representing Christ in a boat asleep, but "Pius IX. taking the helm in the midst of the howling storm and surging waves;" at other times he lavished encomiums and rewards upon his creatures.

And yet, after all this Machiavellian diplomacy and these Jesuitical tactics, when it came to the vote, on July 13, eighty-eight were found in the minority. And in connection with this fact, be it remembered that never since the Council of Nicæa has any dogma been carried against an opposition. Every single "resolution" was either passed unanimously or not at all. On the 18th of July the minority of eighty-eight had dwindled down to two, but this was because the much-persecuted and not very heroic dissentients had, after a mild protest to the Pope, finally withdrawn from the Holy City.

This was how the dogma of the Pope's universal episcopacy and inerrancy was fabricated and given to the world. What did the world think of it? What kind of a reception did it meet with from that part of the world we denominate Christendom? No doubt multitudes of people did not *think* about the matter at all. They certainly read in the papers that the Pope had been declared, in the midst of a thunder-storm, to be infallible, and occasionally this same polysyllabic word fell on the tympanum of their ear; but he who talked to them about infallibility might as well have talked about Mesopotamia (as an eminent Irish M.P. said some time since); one word conveying as much sense as the other. This indifferency of the bulk of men to a matter which did not practically concern them was natural; but we think it is more likely to diminish than to increase. Late events have made men, almost in spite of themselves, think about Ultramontanism and infallibility. But ever since the Council commenced its sittings, its proceedings have been watched by some interested spectators, who have looked on with feelings as diverse as their creeds. The rationalist rejoiced in the prospect, as he now rejoices in the fact, that the Pope was about to get himself proclaimed a god; and he chuckled as he thought what additional strength it would give to his theories, and how multitudes were sure, in their recoil from this the latest monstrosity engendered of Ultramontanism, to step into the same boat with him. And well might the rationalist chuckle when the Archbishop of Tuam himself could say from his place in the Council that if the dogma of papal infallibility were formulated, a horrible scepticism as to the truth of the Christian religion would prevail in all directions. The Protestant who, by the help of public journals, was enabled to become an onlooker of what was going on in the Vatican, saw in its tumultuary proceedings an emphatic refutation of Rome's boasted unity of belief. The declaration of the Pope's infallibility was, in his eyes, the apotheosis of the Man of Sin. He shuddered, turned away and thanked God that he was not a Roman Catholic. But it is of less moment what outsiders thought of the work that was perfected on July 18th than it is to know how the "faithful" themselves regarded it. As to the Jesuits and those of their way of thinking, their feelings were, in one sense, to be envied. As a parent sees his own image reflected in the face of his child, and sees it with joy and pride, so the Jesuits, as they looked upon the darling offspring of their system, might be pardoned if they felt some degree of self-complacency and elation. They had now their reward for the labour of twenty years past. Had they not at length accomplished that for which they had collected money, built churches, monasteries, and convents, founded societies, established journals and schools in all parts of the globe? Let us leave them

for a time to the contemplation of their work, and in the full enjoyment of their own pleasant feelings. A second, and perhaps the most considerable portion of the flock of Pio Nono, will have accepted the Vatican decrees with an exemplary docility and an unquestioning readiness very pleasing in the sight of their Ultramontane pastors. Others, again, will "accept" the dogmas as Catholics, without "believing" in them. But last, and not least, there is that part of the Romish Church which is composed of men who are conscientious in their convictions. To them the truth of a dogma is everything, and they will not outwardly and formally accept what they cannot believe in. Though Catholics, they are penetrated and possessed by modern ideas and sympathies, and are deeply anxious that the Church they love should not break with the age, but, while moving on the lines of the past, should adapt itself to the present. It is these adherents of the Papacy who, for convenience sake, may be called liberal Catholics, that feel how grave is the crisis which the Jesuit wire-pullers have created. When the Council was in progress we read Dr. Newman's letter, in which he expresses his indignation against the "aggressive, insolent faction who threatened to make the heart of the just sad." Now that this "faction" has executed its threat, Mr. Lowry Whittle, by his "Catholicism and the Vatican," enables us to ascertain how a cultured liberal Catholic feels towards the late movements of the Papacy. How completely the Church will be revolutionized through the operation of that part of the Bull *Pastor Eternus* which relates to the universal jurisdiction of the Pope, Mr. Whittle sets forth in the following words:—

"The first of these dogmas destroys at once the whole theory of the episcopacy. Each bishop becomes only the local agent of the Pope. Greatly as the Pope's authority over the bishops had grown in the latter times of the Church, the bishop still took the oath of fidelity to the Pope, with the clause *salvo meo ordine*. He had distinct rights in the Church as a member of the episcopacy claiming to represent the Apostles; and his obedience to the Pope was regulated by the Canon Law. The *ordinaria potestas*, or power of the bishop, was the authority to which each priest or layman was immediately subject in religious matters. Now, every priest and layman is subject to the Pope directly; the Pope's power extends over pastor and believer."

"The practical effect of this part of the Vatican decree is greater than that of the following section. The sweeping away with the consent of the episcopacy of the whole constitution of the Latin Church, is one of the most remarkable facts the modern historian could record. All the rights and privileges of separate orders in the Church are abolished. All the customs of local or national

churches, the relations of the parish priest to his flock, to his bishop, of the bishops to each other, of the various national churches to the Papacy; the whole Canon Law which elaborately regulated all these relations; all these institutions of the Church have only a significance so far as the Pope may permit in each particular case. According to this dogma, those who for so many centuries relied on the Canon Law as a limitation of the power of the Popes, as a guarantee of special rights of bishops and of priests, and of local churches, were violating the ordinances of God." (Pp. 3, 4.)

Mr. Whittle has two other counts in his indictment against the Curia. He charges it with having interrupted the continuity of Catholic teaching in Ireland by exalting into a dogma, to be believed by all on pain of forfeiture of salvation, a mere opinion which has never been taught by bishops and priests, never hinted at in devotional manuals, and never referred to in catechisms except to be repudiated on the ground of its being a mere calumny, invented by Protestant misapprehension or prejudice. What has been for centuries taught and accepted as Catholic doctrine is, that the people are bound to believe what the *Church—i.e.*, what the Pope and the bishops together—teach. Either then, Ireland has been wrong all this time, and her boast that she has maintained the true faith is unfounded, or she has been right all through and the Curia is wrong, and to be resisted in introducing an unwarrantable innovation.

But as an Irish Roman Catholic, Mr. Whittle has a specific grievance to allege against Rome, and in the statement of this grievance lies the gravamen of his charge against her. The penal laws against Romanists were repealed because the most distinguished Irish prelates, such as Archbishops Murray and Kelly, and Dr. Doyle, explicitly declared, when examined before a committee of the House of Commons in 1825, that the Roman Catholics did not believe that the Pope had any such power as the recently promulged Vatican decrees claim for him. Shall we not now be chargeable, say such as Mr. Whittle, with having violated honour and good faith in having got rid of our religious disabilities by repudiating what we must now profess, on pain of the censures of the church?

While the Jesuits rejoiced, Irish liberal Catholics had good reason to be sad as they faced the difficulties of the situation. These difficulties confronted them suddenly, like a gulf that yawns at the traveller's feet. So little had they suspected what was about to befall them, that ominous rumours and letters of newspaper correspondents were disregarded or laughed at. When the truth became known "Irish Catholics gave way to a feeling very like dismay . . . . In this crisis men turned their eyes to Ger—

many. That country possessed a great school of Catholic theology, rich in canonical and historic science. It had frequently shown its independence of the Roman Curia, and the Jesuits had avowed that their present policy was designed to crush it. In South Germany Catholicism enjoyed a position which it could not boast of in any other country in the world. . . . . Educated Catholicism saw that the battle of Catholic truth must be fought in Germany; that it was for the great leaders of German theology to determine the nature of the resistance to Rome, and they were content to wait on the action of Germany at this grave crisis of the church." Pp. 21-2.

While the Catholics of Ireland and elsewhere are anxiously turning to Germany for counsel and guidance, let us also look in the same direction to note how well that appeal was met by the establishment of that organized resistance to papal tyranny which, by common consent, is now known as the Old Catholic Movement.

On the third day after the close of the Vatican Council, Archbishop Scherr, of Munich, had an interview with the Theological Faculty of Munich, with Professor Döllinger at their head, at the Episcopal Palace. After greetings had been exchanged, a pause ensued, broken at last by the Primate, who, referring to the famous and much-abused sentence from Augustine's sermons, said: "*Roma locuta est*—gentlemen, you know what follows. We can but submit." After recounting, in his own fashion, the too well-known particulars of the passing of the dogma, he turned to Döllinger, whose face wore a portentous aspect, and said—"Are we, then, to begin again to labour for the Holy Church?" Döllinger replied, in his peculiarly sharp manner, "Yes, for the *Old* Church." The Archbishop with difficulty controlled his rising anger, and said, "There is but one Church, no new and no old one;" when Döllinger promptly interposed, "A new one has been made." The Archbishop's vexation showed itself in tears, and he floundered about in a hopeless sort of way, first observing, "There had constantly been changes in the doctrines of the Church;" and then, perceiving what a sensation the statement had made upon his auditors, correcting himself by adding, "I mean the dogmas have often required explanations." Nothing more was said on either side, as both parties were glad to bring so embarrassing an interview to an end.

The actors in this living *tableau* were, unconsciously to themselves, rehearsing, in a small preludial way, the parts which divided Catholicism is now playing under the eyes of the whole ecclesiastical world. On that 21st day of July, 1870, in the archiepiscopal palace, Döllinger was, as ever, the unflinching spokesman of his party; and in his laconic answers to Archbishop Scherr we hear the words of one who understood his time, who had long divined the aims of the Roman Curia, and to whom, by his writings and

influence, it was mainly owing that Germany was not taken aback by the course and upshot of the Council, as Irish, and even French, Catholics are said to have been. The Old-Catholic movement was foreshadowed in his reference to the Old and the New Church, and nobly has he redeemed his promise of labouring for the former. In the verbal shuffling of the Archbishop of Munich, who was in the Opposition at Rome, we see a specimen of the pitiful part the Anti-Infallibilist bishops were about to play.

Dr. Dollinger soon brought them to the touchstone; for, immediately after the promulgation of the Vatican decrees, he, with others, communicated with the bishops of the Opposition to see what was to be done for the protection of the constitution and doctrine of the Church; but the result showed that nothing was to be expected from them. Their conduct then and since goes far to confirm the opinion pretty generally entertained at the time by their compatriots as to the course they pursued during the Council. The *Times* Berlin correspondent* told us in 1870 that whilst some of the bishops were credited with being actuated by the highest motives in their resistance to the contemplated dogma, and others were deemed to be naturally anxious to retain their share of influence in the Church, which they must for ever lose if the Jesuits and the Pope had their own way, the majority of the recusant ecclesiastics were strongly suspected of being impelled in their opposition by no more elevated motives than could be derived from the conviction that "the thing was too extravagant to be made palatable to their diocesans." Some now think that many of the bishops are only yielding a forced and hollow submission to the Vatican dogmas, and that they will quietly bide their time till the Old Catholic movement has attained sufficient proportions to satisfy them, when they will throw off their enforced acquiescence and declare themselves on the side of truth in time to step into a bishoprick. Anyhow, let the motives of the German episcopate have been what they may, the *rôle* they have thought fit to play has been neither very dignified nor very creditable. Ketteler, Bishop of Mayence, professed to be the leader of the Opposition at Rome, and yet it is his treasonable designs against the New German Empire that Bismarck lately exposed. Forster, Archbishop of Breslau, one of the Opposition in words, has proved himself a Jesuit in act, for he is one of the leaders of that rebellion with which the German Chancellor has to cope, and has candidly stated that the "French campaign is being followed up by a civil war in which it is not the cassock that will be defeated." Haynald, who complained that at the Council there were "matriarchs instead of patriarchs," had a Jesuit "theologian" or official councillor when he said it. Hefele, Bishop of Rottenburg in

* Religious Thought in Germany, p. 179.

Wurtemburg, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Tübingen, and author of a History of Councils, was one of the most decided opponents of the Infallibility dogma at the Vatican Council, and great things were expected from his opposition. He said he had studied Church history for thirty years, and could discover no trace of infallibility in the early ages. Yet even he, in April, 1871, submitted, and in the circular to his clergy announcing the fact, justifies the step he takes by saying "The peace and unity of the Church is so great a good that great and heavy personal sacrifices may be made for it!"

Thus it became clearer every day that if ought was to be done by Döllinger and those of his way of thinking, it would have to be done without the concurrence and in the very teeth of the bishops. In the month of September two very dissimilar manifestoes appeared; one which was first adopted at an assembly at Nuremberg, in August, and afterwards sent round to some of the universities for signature, denied the Œcumenicity of the Council and rejected the propositions in the Bull *Pastor Eternus* referring to the universal jurisdiction and the infallibility of the Pope, on the ground of their novelty, as destructive to the rights of the Episcopate, and as dangerous to society. The other emanated from the bishops who, hearing what was in the wind, hastily gathered their robes about them and posted to Fulda, and there indited a document which indicated, though in vague terms, their intention to submit to Rome. Before they had put pen to paper it would have been as well if they had literally, no less than ecclesiastically, "effaced" the declaration which they had issued from the same place twelve months before, for the purpose of quieting the public mind, disturbed by the rumours which filled the air as to the intentions of the forthcoming Council. In that declaration they confidently asserted that no Council would ever proclaim the Pope to be the universal Bishop, or the Infallible Teacher!

Meanwhile the war was raging between Germany and France, calling off the attention of men from the perenially important questions of culture and religion, to the temporary but more immediately pressing ones of national honour and unity. Until that war was over this greater conflict could only be waged in a desultory way, merely consisting as it were of skirmishes at the outposts. The Ultramontanists however were not inactive, and comparatively early the action of the bishops precipitated the political difficulties which sooner or later were sure to present themselves, since they were involved in the dogma itself. It being thought that Bismarck was very anxious to keep on friendly terms with the Roman See, it was in Prussia that the policy of over-riding opposition was first attempted. Archbishop Melchers, of Cologne, began by proclaiming the dogma, and afterwards suspended five of

the theological professors of Bonn University, as also Dr. Tangerman the parish priest of Unkel on the Rhine, for refusing to subscribe to it. Similar cases occurred in Silesia and East Prussia during the winter and spring, but the Prussian Government in most of these cases took no notice whatever of the action of the bishops.

Bavaria, to which the conflict was now to be transferred, is the most considerable of the States of southern Germany. It is the only catholic kingdom in the Empire, the king of Saxony, though a Romanist himself, ruling over a majority of Protestant subjects. A quarter of its five millions of inhabitants profess the Protestant religion, and are chiefly found in Franconia, the Palatinate, and part of Suabia. Three universities dispense the blessings of culture throughout the country; one of the most frequented and prosperous in Germany being amongst the number. Ever since 1817 and 1818 when Bavaria received at once a constitution and a concordat, a struggle, attended by diverse alternatives, has been going on between Church and State. Sometimes the State conceded too much; sometimes it vindicated its rights with those of science, liberty, and civilization, against the arrogant assumptions of the hierarchy. During the last decade or more, it has made a decided advance, from which it would be difficult to regress. But still the clergy have conserved their privileges and power more in Bavaria than in most other countries. The bishops enjoy a higher official status than in Prussia, being officers of State, recognised by the Constitution. They have great powers over their clergy. They can appoint to benefices, and suspend from them, and have some control over the way in which the catholic professors of theology at the universities discharge their functions. But one very important limitation of their power provided for in the Constitution is, that no papal bull or brief shall be proclaimed without the consent of the King. Well might the Government of Bavaria, standing in such ticklish relations to other powers and containing within itself discordant elements, look with a grave face upon the preliminary arrangements for the Council, and await with some degree of apprehension the consequences of the proclamation of the Universal Jurisdiction and Infallibility of the Pope. In April 1869 Prince Hohenlohe, at that time minister to the King of Bavaria, proposed to the various Catholic Governments of Europe to send lay-representatives to the Council in harmony with ancient usage. But France, Spain, Austria, all refused, and the project was abandoned. A few days after the official promulgation of the twin-dogmas at Rome, and before the bishops had taken any important step in Germany, the ministry addressed a circular to the Bavarian bishops cautioning them against any proclamation of the new dogmas without the permission of the King. But some members of the

Episcopate, such as the bishops of Augsburg and Regensburg, publicly proclaimed the dogma and reproached the Government for their circular. Most of the bishops, however, were content to pursue a less determined course, and simply applied to the most distinguished of the members of the opposition amongst the professors and the clergy for their submission. Dr. Rentfle, of Mering, near Augsburg, among others, received his bishop's pastoral, containing the dogmas, with orders to read it to his congregation. He complied with the letter of the injunction, but took the liberty of making sundry comments, protesting in his own name and that of his church against the dogmas. Bishop Dinkel applied to the Bavarian Government for the removal of Dr. Rentfle from his benefice, but as his congregation adhered to him the Government refused to interfere, and the priest of Mering had the honour of being at the head of the first congregation of Old Catholics.

The next most salient point in the development of the Old Catholic movement was Professor Döllinger's declaration of March 28th, perhaps destined to become almost as famous as the theses which Luther nailed on the church door of Wittenberg. In this declaration Döllinger states that as a christian, a theologian, an historian and citizen, he cannot accept the new dogmas, and offers to argue the whole question before the cathedral Chapter at Munich, or the Episcopate about to assemble at Fulda. This declaration appeared at an opportune moment, for the great struggle for the leadership of Europe was now over. It came too as a relief to many who had wondered what answer Döllinger would return to his archbishop's formal application for his submission, and who perhaps could hardly repress the misgiving that he might yet stop short in his course of opposition to the Roman Curia, as already many had done. This misgiving would not be removed when, on the expiration of the term allowed him for submission, it became known that he had asked for fourteen days' grace. But when men read the declaration in the Augsburg Gazette—so clear, bold, and uncompromising—their misgivings vanished to give place to hope, for they felt as they read that they had now a leader whose courage and sincerity were as unquestioned as his ability and erudition. The declaration spread like wildfire through Germany. Now appeared numberless manifestoes of sympathy with Döllinger and his views, and counter-manifestoes from the wrathful Archbishop and the Ultramontanists. Dr. Dollinger came to be at once the most popular and the best-abused man in Germany. The excitement went on hourly increasing until April 18th, when Dollinger was excommunicated.

A good deal of bitter feeling was imported into the controversy by the action of the Ultramontane authorities, who involved in the censures of the Church all who had signed the numerous addresses to Dollinger. As the offices of the Church are recognised by the

state, the signatories of these addresses were liable to suffer in many ways. Their children could not be baptized; they themselves could not be legally married; neither could they receive the holy sacraments or be buried in consecrated ground, so long as they were under censure. An old Munich Professor, named Zenger, who had signed an address, falling into a mortal sickness, applied to his parish priest for the rite of extreme unction, but the request was denied on the authority of the Archbishop, unless he would withdraw his signature. This he refused absolutely to do, and had it not been for the kindly offices of Professor Friedrich, who was himself under excommunication, the old man would have gone to his grave without receiving that rite, which is so dear to all Catholic Christians when *in extremis*.

Such an event as this naturally tended to exacerbate popular feeling against the hierarchy, and both parties instinctively turned to the Bavarian Government for countenance and assistance. The Old Catholics (as after Whitsuntide they began to be called) appealed to be defended from the tyranny of a mere innovating faction in the Church—desired to have the acts of their suspended ecclesiastics legally recognised, and doubtless would have raised no objection if the Government had proceeded against the bishops who had broken Bavarian law by proclaiming the Vatican dogmas without having first obtained the *placetum Regium*. On the other hand, the Infallibilists were anxious that the Government should interfere in behalf of the Church, by putting down the heresy and rebellion which now disquieted it; which could only be done by recusant professors, like Dollinger, being ousted from their professorial chairs, and priests like Rentfle forcibly inhibited from their benefices. This active interference on the part of Government they deemed they had a right to expect.

The situation of the Bavarian Government at this time was somewhat peculiar. For a lengthened period it had been the policy to be pursued towards Germany, and especially towards Prussia, that had decided political parties in the Bavarian Chamber. The *Progressionist* party, as they were called, regarded Prussia as the model according to which Bavarian institutions should be fashioned, and looked forward to a united Germany with Prussia at its head. The *Patriot* or *Particularist* party cared less for German unity than they did for Bavarian independence, and were jealous of the growing power of Prussia. Neither of these parties was avowedly or really Ultramontane. Both were proud of Bavarian catholicity, and disposed to protect it from foreign encroachments. The cities and towns of Bavaria contain an urban population—very enlightened—liberal and accessible to all modern ideas. But this *bourgeoisie* is almost lost amongst a vast agricultural population illiberally patriotic. The bishops and clergy were jealous of Prus-

sian influence, and looked with great aversion upon its science and culture, and for the attainment of their own ends made common cause with the country people. When preparations were being made for the meeting of the Council, the Progressionist party, under the ministry of Count Hohenlohe were in office, and it was he who, as we have seen, sought to induce the Catholic powers to send lay representatives to the Vatican. But in 1869 the clericals united with the Particularists and bestirred themselves so energetically amongst the rurals, that twenty priests were elected in a chamber of one-hundred-and-sixty. The Hohenlohe ministry gave place to the Particularist government of Count Bray. It was the success of this coalition that led many people to suppose that when war was declared Bavaria would cast in its lot with France; but popular feeling was too strong to admit of such a course, and Bavarian troops became the conquerors of Weissenburg. At the close of the war the Bray ministry was still in office, but with the policy to which it owed its existence played out. Though not in itself Ultramontane, it was too much indebted to clerical votes to be able to befriend the Old Catholic movement. Neither, on the other hand, did it feel disposed to hearken to the prayer of the bishops and enforce their authority. So it committed itself to neither party, and did nothing.

This brief review of the political situation in the summer of 1871 will serve to explain the course taken by the Old Catholics. In order to gather together the scattered threads of the movement and to weave them into something like strength and consistency, and not least, in order to influence the still hesitating Government to take a decided stand, it was decided at Heidelberg, on the 4th and 5th of August, to hold a General Congress of delegates from the Old Catholic clubs at Munich during the following month. This Congress was to give a declaration of the principles which were to guide the movement, and to afford such a demonstration of its power and determination, that the "masterly inactive" Government might be encouraged to resist the Ultramontane party.

The Congress had barely been summoned when its influence was felt in the resignation of the Bray ministry, and the formation of the present one under Count Hegnenberg-Dux. Herr von Lutz, minister of religion, signalized his accession to office by answering the appeal of the bishops for the enforcement of their authority, which appeal had lain so long in a pigeon-hole in the bureau of his predecessor. He, addressing Archbishop Scherr, reiterated the objections to the new dogmas—reproached the bishops with overriding the laws, and warned them that they might compel the ministry to apply the criminal law against them. This decisive step was as far as it went a clear gain to the movement; but still

the Old Catholics had not yet attained their full desire, and it was determined to carry out the projected Congress.

Mr. Lowry Whittle was, by the invitation of Dr. Dollinger, present at the Munich Congress, and he has in the work now before us, given a graphic and comprehensive account of what took place there Sept. 22-24. We have but little space to devote to the proceedings of a Congress which we are sanguine enough to believe will not rank as the least in the Ecclesiastical Conferences of Christendom.

Munich is one of the most Catholic cities of the world. This is attested to the traveller by the number and magnificence of its churches—the passing of religious fraternities along the streets in solemn procession—and the sight of men and women kneeling before the statue of the virgin, which stands in the centre of the city. It was right that a movement essentially Catholic in its nature should find its natural centre in such a city. At the appointed time 400 delegates and invited visitors met for deliberation in the Museum, above which towers the vast pile of the Archiepiscopal palace. Nearly every European country, as well as North America and Brazil, was represented at the Assembly. The Congress was composed of men of rank, of peasants, proprietors, burgomasters of country towns, priests, professors, members of the Chamber, and professional men; and it was noticeable how even men in the humblest position in life had been enabled to study some time at one of the Universities. Von Schulte, a Rhinelander by birth, but now Professor of Canon Law at Prague, was chosen President. The fact that every clause in the declaration of faith was considered and decided on in the space of five hours, while suggestive of the general accord of the Assembly in regard to principle, must also in great part be attributed to the tact and firmness of the President, whom the delegates fondly called *unserer Bismarck*, from his remarkable likeness to the German Chancellor in appearance and bearing. Besides, distinguished Germans like Windscheid, Professor of Roman Law at Heidelberg—who was one of the vice-Presidents—Friedrich, Dollinger, Professors Langen, of Bonn, and Reinkens, of Breslau, well-known for their anti-Infallibilist writings, and Huber, of Munich, who acted as the spokesman of the Heidelberg Committee in introducing the draft resolutions. Besides these there came delegates from other countries, such as Herr Keller—a leading man amongst the Swiss Catholics, who was the second vice-president—Maassen, Professor of Canon Law at Vienna, three priests who attended as a deputation from the Roman Catholic Church at Utrecht, and Professor Ossinin, theological professor in the Greek Church at St. Petersburg. Father Hyacinthe and Dr. Michaud were amongst the invited guests.

There were three business sessions, occupied first in the discussion of the programme or Confession of Faith; and then in the organization of the Old Catholic unions and religious congregations which have since been established in various parts of Germany and Austria.

The Confession of Faith embraced the following seven resolutions. 1st. The rejection of the dogmas introduced under the Pontificate of Pius IX.—the immaculate conception, and especially the dogmas of "the Infallible teaching office," and the "Supreme ordinary and immediate jurisdiction" of the Pope. The 2nd resolution expressed their adherence to the ancient constitution of the Church, outraged by the Vatican decrees. The 3rd referred to the urgent need of reform in the spirit of the Old Church, and of the introduction of the laity into church government. The 4th insisted on the necessity of the higher education of the clergy and of the education of the second, or inferior clergy, as they are called. The 5th resolution condemns the dogma of Infallibility in its political bearings. The 6th demands the suppression of the Jesuits. In the 7th, as members of the Catholic Church before it was altered by the Vatican dogmas, the Old Catholics maintain their right to all real property and possessions in the church.

In the discussions relative to the organization of the movement some differences of opinion were expressed, but finally the following resolutions, moved by Von Schulte, were carried by a large majority:

1. "In all places where the want exists, and the priests are to be found, a regular cure of souls shall be established. As to the existence of the want, the local committee shall determine."

2. "We are entitled to take steps to have our priests recognised by the State as qualified to administer the rites of the Church, wherever and so long as such rites are conditions of civil privileges."

3. "Wherever it is possible, measures shall be taken to obtain this recognition."

4. "Each individual is justified, in consideration of an emergency, in obtaining the discharge of episcopal functions by foreign bishops. We are entitled, as soon as the proper moment has come, to make provision for the establishment of a regular episcopal jurisdiction."

On the Saturday and Sunday afternoons the Congress held public meetings in the Glass Palace, when 8,000 people listened to addresses setting forth the principles and aims of the Old Catholic movement. On the first day Father Hyacinthe was amongst the speakers, and though he addressed a German audience in his native French, he elicited enthusiastic applause. The public meeting on the Sunday afternoon was even more important than that on the preceding day. Professor Reinkens, of Breslau, delivered the first address upon the relation of the Church to nationalities. But the great speech of the meeting was by Professor Michaelis, of Brauns-

berg, in East Prussia, who is undoubtedly the orator of the movement, and who for two hours had the rapt attention of the vast audience while he spoke to the 6th resolution of the Doctrinal Programme which denounces the Jesuits.

One feature of the Congress, on which the mind dwells with much complacency, is the spirit of Christian charity towards other communities which so many of the addresses breathed. Though little immediate substantial good may result from these kindly utterances, yet one has grown so accustomed to associate bigotry and intolerance with all the relations of Rome to those who are not of its fold, that it is quite refreshing, from its novelty, to find the well-worn formula of malediction superseded by benedictions. This spirit of charity crystallized and assumed tangibility in the following clause of the 3rd resolution:—

"We declare that the charge of Jansenism has been unjustly brought against the Church of Utrecht, and consequently there is no dogmatic difference between us. We hope for a re-union with the Oriental and Russian Church, whose separation had no urgent cause, and is based on no irreconcilable dogmatic difference. In view of the Reforms we are striving for, and in the way of science and advancing Christian culture, we look for a gradual understanding with the Protestant and the Episcopal Churches."

Thus ended the proceedings of the Old Catholic Congress. An able writer on the staff of the *Saturday Review*, (who has enriched the columns of that journal with some capital articles on the Old Catholic movement), after having given an abstract of the doings of the Congress, sums up in the following remarks;—

"There is both about the public addresses and the whole proceedings of the Congress a business-like simplicity and directness, which one, perhaps, hardly expects to meet with in an assembly largely composed of German Professors, and which augurs well for the reality and prospects of the great undertaking to which they have pledged themselves. It is indeed no less a work than that which the Council of Constance failed to achieve in the 15th century, and which the Council of Trent shrank from seriously grappling with in the sixteenth. Among Protestants it has been usual to decry such an attempt as chimerical, and it is not wonderful that outsiders like the so-called "Bavarian Catholic," who has contributed some exceedingly hostile and one-sided criticisms on the movement to the *Contemporary Review*, should ridicule the notion of a reform in the Church which is not a revolution. But such has for centuries past been the cherished aspiration of some of the noblest spirits in the hierarchy as well as among the priesthood and laity of the vast communion, which has its centre at Rome and the habitable globe for its circumference. The scheme has at length been taken up in good earnest by men who appear to have both the will

and the opportunities for giving it a fair trial, and it will certainly be a matter of no common interest to watch the result."*

The direct results of the Congress as seen in the more marked and friendly attitude taken by the Bavarian Government towards the Old Catholics, and in the quickening and extension of the movement itself, we have no time to describe; but as our remarks have already, we fear, extended to an undue length, we shall take advantage of the convenient resting place the record of the close of the Congress supplies, and shall there rest awhile before attempting to portray the political phase the movement has entered upon in the momentous struggle between the Prussian Government and the Ultramontanists, which is being regarded by the public with ever-deepening interest. It also remains to be shown what success the Old Catholic movement has met with in France and other countries. Till these points have been touched upon it would be premature to cast the horoscope of a movement to which we wish a hearty God-speed.

BICKERSTAFFE.

ART. VI.—ON DREAMS.

THIS curious and interesting subject has occupied, more or less, the attention of philosophers, from the days of Aristotle until the present time; but though it has received the consideration of the ablest and acutest minds, it must be confessed that it still remains involved in comparative obscurity, and it is doubtful whether we shall ever gain a full and satisfactory philosophy of dreams. But whether we do or not, this peculiar phenomenon, revealing as it does a condition of mental activity differing in so many respects from that manifested during the waking life, and opening up so many important questions concerning the nature of the soul, and its relations to the bodily organisation, cannot fail to excite the interest and engage the attention of every student of psychology.

Sleep is either partial or complete. During complete sleep, the organism ceases to exercise any influence over the soul, and the soul loses its control of the organism. A temporary metaphysical death is experienced. During partial sleep, one or more of the bodily organs may remain in a greater or less degree of activity, while the other parts of the physical system are in a state of torpor. We are not at the time wholly unconscious of the external world. In neither condition does the circulatory or respiratory organs cease their operations, or death would ensue, but in both their energy is

* *Saturday Review*, Dec. 23rd, 1871.

lessened, and consequently the whole tone of the physical system is lowered. During complete sleep the soul, having lost control of the perceptive organs, remains unconscious of the external world. Odours may fill the air, sounds greet the ear, light fall upon the eye, and substances come in contact with the touch, but no communication is borne in upon the soul; in unconscious quiet it dwells apart, undisturbed by the grosser things of earth. But though the soul is thus dead to the external, it nevertheless continues in ceaseless activity, exercising in some degree the perceptive, reflective, and inventive faculties, and, in special instances, manifesting a sphere and mode of intelligence never, or very seldom (and then obscurely), hinted at in the waking state. The product of the soul's activity during partial sleep is always considerably modified by the bodily organ or organs that remain in a state of vigilance; they appear to determine the tendency of the soul's activity, and give character to its operations. Now, it is this state of independent mental activity—or state in which we perceive an external world, which is to us at the time as real as the world of our wakeful moments, and in which we experience all kinds of sensations without the conscious co-operation of the organism—it is this under world of life and thought, which we denominate dreaming, this condition is usually experienced during sleep; but sometimes in the waking life we touch upon it. The obtrusiveness of the external world, however, is so great, and the sensitiveness of the mind such, that in waking life the soul, if ever entranced by dreamy influence, is soon recalled to the subjection of the senses, and consequently, except in the period of childhood, the dream state is seldom realised but during sleep.

Dreaming is common to all men, and is even in some measure experienced by the lower animals. The horse is known to neigh, and the dog to bark during sleep.

> The staghounds, weary with the chase,
> Lay stretched upon the rushy floor,
> And urged in *dreams* the forest race,
> From Teviot-stone to Eskdale moor.—*Scott.*

But there is an essential difference between their dreams and the pure dream-state in man, for every mental change which animals experience is preceded — and I may venture to say, is caused—by some organic or physical change, while man experiences changes which are purely and simply mental. It is said that some men never dream while in a healthy and regular condition of body and mind. But it would be more correct to say that the subject of their mental activity during sleep leaves no impression of itself in their memory, for it can be most clearly and satisfactorily shewn that the mind is never inactive during sleep. There is, no doubt, a difference in persons for remembering their

dreams, due in some measure to constitutional peculiarities, and to the habit of recalling and rehearsing the visions of the night in the morning, and to the subject matter of their dreams. If a dream brings vividly before us something we are deeply interested in in waking life, or something which greatly concerns us, or something which far transcends our ordinary experience, it seems to rouse all the faculties of the mind; it takes hold of the whole nature, and works itself into the memory. If, on the other hand, it is of no particular consequence in itself, it passes away like a cloud in the sky, leaving no permanent impression behind it. But whether there is remembrance or not, it can be clearly shewn that all men dream during sleep. There is one curious thing connected with this subject which may be here mentioned, namely, that those mental peculiarities which so clearly mark us from each other during the waking life, seem almost wholly removed during dreaming, the slow becoming as expert as the quick, the dull as brilliant as the fanciful, and the gross as pure as the spiritual; thus intimating that the *intellectual* differences among men may be due almost wholly to difference of circumstances, or difference in form or quality of organisation, and that in a more perfect condition of existence these differences may be wholly removed.

A dream is usually presented to the mind in a soft and mellow light. This is the true fairyland, where poets find their ghouls and sprites. Everything is shrouded in dimness and obscurity. All the figures, as they flit before the perception, are draped in a transparent mist. This is sought to be accounted for by the sluggish condition of the organism. But this explanation proceeds from a doctrine which attributes all mental activity to organic influence, and which implies that the soul cannot exist in a disembodied state, for what is the form or proof of existence but activity —the manifestation of phenomena? We reject this doctrine utterly, and think that the particular statement brought forward in this place is contradicted by experience, for if the softness of the colouring is to be attributed to the sluggish condition of the organism, then it ought to follow that when the organism is most active the colouring should be the highest, whereas the very opposite is the case, for the dreams of complete sleep are always more vivid, and excite a greater intensity of thought and feeling, than the dreams of partial sleep. The true cause in ordinary dreams, we think, is that the attention is not sufficiently active. The mind is in a passive condition, and the vision comes with such rapidity, and sometimes confusion, that there is not time afforded for the mind to concentrate itself upon any particular object. Sometimes the full sight of the soul is turned upon the fleeting shadow, and then it has a vividness and colouring higher than is experienced during the waking life, and just in proportion as there is this fixedness of attention, in proportion is the height of the colouring.

The dream-vision is always accompanied by a strong persuasion of its reality, no matter what extravagant form it assumes, no matter what strange or ludicrous shape it takes on; come in what form it may, the slightest suspicion never seems to cross the mind that it is unreal. We meet with friends long dead. The living change their shape and manner. The dead and living change their places, and yet no surprise is created. The strange world we live and move in is to us, for the time, as real as the world of the waking state. We transact business, we get and give, we handle and are handled, as during the day. The delusion is most complete. So strong is this persuasion at times, that, long after we have been recalled to consciousness, we find it difficult to believe that it was "only a dream." When this persuasion prolongs itself into the waking hours, and undermines and displaces the belief in the external world of sense, it produces insanity. This persuasion is due in ordinary dreams to the imperfect action of the judgment, and to an original tendency in the soul. There is a native disposition in the soul to give an objective character to its own images, a disposition which is only moderated during the waking life, by the judgment comparing them with the visions of the senses. During the dream state, however, the external world is absent, and consequently the judgment is impaired in its operation, and hence all the creations of the fancy are believed to have an objective form and character.

We have a grand illustration of the rapidity of thought in the dream-vision. In a few moments we seem to suffer, or do, what would occupy years in the waking state. In an instant we perform the longest and most hazardous journeys. We fly over mountains and seas and continents, and even the boundaries of time. We pass through the longest and most varied experience, are buried for ages with the mummies of Egypt, chained in the bottom of the sea, or left desolate on a barren island. A person who was suddenly startled from sleep by some drops of water sprinkled in his face, dreamed of the events of an entire life, in which happiness and misery were mingled; and which finally terminated with an altercation upon the borders of an extensive lake, into which his exasperated companion, after a considerable struggle, succeeded in plunging him. The water sprinkled in his face was at once the cause of his awakening, and supplied the material of his dream. This erroneous notion of time is due, in ordinary dreams, to the belief in the reality of the dream-vision. The notion of duration is at first acquired by the recognition of different psychical states, and the comparison of one state with another. In dreaming, we suppose the various experiences to occupy the same time they would in the waking life. The whole service is to us at the time real and objective, and the soul has no power to mark the proper march of time.

As we regard the soul as increasingly active during the whole period of sleep, we do not, of course, seek the causes of dreaming, but we enquire into their composition and character. We ask what is the stuff they are made of? What are the powers of mind principally engaged in their construction? What laws do these powers then obey? And what future light do we gather from this subject concerning the nature of the soul, and its relations to the bodily organism? Keeping these questions in view, we proceed to a classification and examination of dreams.

There are two distinct and separate kinds of dreams; the common, and the extraordinary. The common dream is simple in its nature and construction, and yields little more light concerning the nature of the soul than may be discovered during the waking life. The same powers are manifested, only the higher powers of fancy and suggestion act more vigorously than the understanding and judgment. The extraordinary reveals a sphere and mode of intelligence in the soul which is but seldom manifested during the waking life, and throws a flood of light upon the nature of the soul and its relations to the bodily organism. It opens up a new field for psychological study, a field which properly cultivated may strengthen materially the hands of the "Intuitionalists," afford a base for "necessary beliefs," and shew that the root of human intelligence has an *a priori* origin.

We need not dwell at any length upon the common dream. Common dreams are of two kinds, corresponding with the two conditions of sleep, complete and partial. The first are those which are constructed out of the material gathered into the mind during the waking life. When the senses are closed the fancy re-enacts the day's doings. Sometimes this is done simply, sometimes with additions, sometimes it is done very consistently, sometimes in the most incongruous and ludicrous manner. One night, after a meeting at which I had made a few remarks concerning the social, political, and religious condition of France and Spain, I dreamt that I was in the presence of the Pope, who proved to be an old friend of mine. There was a lady standing at his right hand, and he was surrounded by a guard of the most rascally and villianous looking soldiers. A person that I could not recognize told me to kneel and kiss the foot of his Holiness, but being a loyal Protestant I refused; upon which two of the ruffianly soldiers seized me, and dragged me from the presence chamber, but all their efforts failed to cast me into the dungeon. I struggled long with them, until the booming of Garabaldi's cannon woke me, and set me free. When I had regained my consciousness I began to seek the material and means of this strange vision; and after a while I found them to my own satisfaction. When speaking that night of France and Spain of course I had to

refer to the Pope. Here then his Holiness came from. But how was it that my own familiar friend was transformed into the Pope? This friend was at the meeting which I attended, and spoke to me concerning what I had said; thus associating himself in my mind with the Pope, and fancy taking advantage of this by her magical power, had placed the tiara on his brow. But who was the lady? and where did she come from? This cost me a little more trouble, but at length I found her. Some considerable time before I had read "Extracts from a lady's diary in Italy," in which she recounted an audience she had with the Pope; and I remembered that though I greatly admired the descriptions she gave of the Holy City, I blamed her very much, being professedly a Protestant, for being so easily caught with the shew and pretension of the Pope. Garibaldi's guns, the ruffianly soldiers, the prison house, and all the rest of the filling up of the dream I attributed to "Lothaire," which I had read a few days before. Here, then, I had found the material of my dream. But by what power of mind was this material which had engaged my attention at different times, and in different places, brought together, and woven into one? Evidently the ordinary power of suggestion acting according to the laws of mental association would account for the presence of the material. The Pope, of whom I had been speaking that night, and who consequently was in possession of my mind, recalled what I had read in the lady's book, and Lothaire. He was the key and central bond, and fancy nimbly had knitted the whole into a unity. The transformation of my friend showed that my judgment was impaired in its operations. A great many dreams could be accounted for in this way. They are but the resuscitation and re-embodiment of thoughts and feelings experienced at one time or other in the waking life; and the extravagances in them are due to the action of truant fancy.

The second class of common dreams are those which gather their material from imperfect sensations experienced during the sleeping state. As already stated, during partial sleep one or more of the organs may be in a state of vigilance, while other parts of the physical system are in a state of torpor. Thus long after the eyes are sealed in sleep the ears and touch may be sensitive. But so intimate is the relation, and so deep the sympathy between the several parts of the organism, that one faculty cannot act perfectly independent of the others; hence any sensation which is experienced during the sleeping state is imperfectly apprehended by the mind, and gives rise to an imperfect train of thought. Dr. Reid suffering from a sore head dreamt that he had fallen into the hands of some savage Indians and was scalped. A person having a bottle of hot water placed at his feet dreamt that he was walking up a burning mountain. If you get stripped of the bedclothes, sleep in a strange

or a damp bed, introduce a strange noise or rich fragrance into the bedchamber, or disorder your stomach or liver, you will supply the phantasy with sufficient material to produce the most pleasant, miserable, solemn, or droll vision, and during the whole night you may be exquisitely happy or exquisitely miserable. There is no doubt the great majority of dreams are to be traced to one or other of these sources. They are either produced out of the experiences of the waking life, or imperfect sensations experienced during sleep and the powers of mind which they manifest, and the laws which these powers then obey are the same as are manifested during the waking life. I should, perhaps, say that the reflective faculties are in general less active and the fancy more active; but it is by no means true that the reasoning powers are never called into operation, for sometimes they manifest a degree of vigour which is never equalled in the waking life. It is said that Condorcet and others regularly solved problems and difficulties during sleep they could not see their way through when waking. Still, we may accept as a general doctrine, that common dreams are made up from waking experiences, or from imperfect sensations experienced during sleep, and that the principal powers of mind manifested are suggestion and fancy acting according to the ordinary laws of mental association.

We come now to the consideration of those dreams which we have called extraordinary—a class of dreams which very few have attempted philosophically to account for, and which some think lie altogether beyond the sphere of philosophy; a class in which the sphere of the soul's activity seems greatly enlarged, and in which the soul manifests a new order of faculty in which the conditions of time and space seem removed, and the soul endowed with a kind of prescience foretells things to come. There has always existed in the public mind a belief in "prophetic dreams;" so common indeed was this belief in former ages, that even common dreams were so regarded, and whole systems of interpretation were built. But in "this age of universal scepticism," when all feelings are being unsettled, and even the popular mind is being guided by scientific method, it may be necessary for us to vindicate the facts by an illustration or two, before we venture upon any theory.

We may take first a case in which two persons, widely separated in space, hold communion with each other, or, at least, think that they hold communion with each other. The following case is reported by Dr. Abercrombie. "A young man who was at an academy 100 *miles* from home, dreamt that he went to his father's house in the night, tried the front door, and finding nobody out of bed, went to the bedroom of his mother, whom he found awake, and to whom he said, 'Mother, I am going a long journey, and am come to bid you good-bye.' To which his mother in great agitation answered,

'Oh, my dear son, thou art dead.' He instantly awoke, and thought no more of his dream until a day or two after, when he received a letter from his father, enquiring very anxiously concerning his health, as his mother had had a fearful dream about him the very same night in which the dream recorded occurred to him. She dreamt that he came into her bedroom, and said, 'Mother, I am going upon a long journey, and am come to bid you good-bye.' To which she answered, 'Oh, my dear son, thou art dead.'" Now, presuming this dream to have occurred, and to be accurately reported—and we have more reason to believe it than to doubt it, for dreams of a like character have come under our own observation—How can we account for it? By what known faculty or law of mind may we explain it? Certainly by none registered by the phrenologists. There are two other kinds of dreams belonging to this class which we may mention. 1st. Those in which things are seen occurring which are actually transpiring at that moment in some *distant part of space.* Dr. A. gives an illustration of a clergyman who had gone into Edinburgh from a short distance in the country, and who dreamt that he saw his house on fire and one of his children in danger. He was so impressed that he immediately returned home, and just arrived in time to see his house a prey to the flames, and to aid in rescuing one of his children. 2nd. Those in which things are seen transpiring which actually occur in some *distant part of time.* The dream about the murder of W. Perceval as narrated by the Dr. is a good illustration.

Now, can we account for these dreams? Either we can, or we cannot. Some say we cannot, and that if we could it is scarcely worth while, as such dreams are so rare. But we do not believe in this doctrine. The rarity of an occurrence is no reason why it ought not to be investigated; and in reference to the present subject the rare occurrence may contain the great secret—the key by which to unlock the whole mystery. To say we cannot account for these dreams is to leave an important sphere of psychical activity unexplained, and is to render psychology, and, consequently, every other branch of philosophy, incomplete and uncertain. By what power of mind, then, as stated by philosophers, may we account for this mysterious fellowship of souls, and this perception of things afar off in time and space? If we cannot account for them by any known power of mind, and if they actually occur, would it be presumptuous to suppose that there is a region of intelligence in the soul, not yet explored by psychologists, through which this communication is held and this knowledge obtained? And presuming that there is such a sphere in the soul, might we not expect that it would differ in its laws and phenomena from that which owes its birth and development to the organism? And that, as it is not depending upon the organism for its expression, it would

not be limited by the condition of the organism? Does not the existence of some such region seem necessary to the doctrine of spiritual influences and communication? How may we account for inspiration? for the action of the divine and other purely spiritual agencies in the human heart? Do we not find intimations of such a sphere in the waking life? From whence our instinctive likes and dislikes? They are based in intelligence. But what intelligence? how acquired? Does not the suggestion of such a region in the soul seem to clear up much that is left in darkness and obscurity by our psychologists? If it could be shown that there was such a sphere of soul activity, prior to the incarnation of the soul—or, at least, prior to sense, consciousness, or the rise of the intelligent life which is dependent upon the organism—and we think this could be shown; or, accepting it is an axiom, that the only proof of existence is phenomena, and that the phenomena of the soul is intelligence, we must conclude that, as the soul exists prior to its incarnation (no matter about the time, it may be an instant or millenium), and as it certainly does exist prior to the rise of sense-intelligence, it possesses a prior intelligence, would this not leave a base for the necessary beliefs? And would not the existence of such an intelligence—an intelligence of a higher order and earlier date than that which grows up through sense-consciousness—carry us back to the true starting-point of an exhaustive and satisfactory psychology? We do not dogmatise here. We have phenomena which we cannot account for by any known power of the mind, and we suggest an hypothesis: That the human soul possesses a sphere of intelligence prior to that acquired through the organism; that, as the organic life is developed, this other region of the soul is thrust back, and, in the full development of sense-consciousness, manifests itself only in dreams, and other abnormal acts of mind. Would not the discovery of such a region of the soul do much to strengthen the belief that the soul is an independent existence, and owes but the development of one part of its nature to its material companion? And does not the existence of such a region leave room for the explanation of all extraordinary dreams? It may be said that we are not conscious of the existence of such a region in the soul, but may it not be the condition of the rise of this region to the light, that sense-consciousness be excluded? Whatever objection be raised against this hypothesis, we are convinced that some such region as this exists in the soul, and that its existence is necessary to explain the class of extraordinary dreams. HERMOGIL.

ART. VII.—"ADAM BEDE."

ADAM BEDE is a story of which any English author, however great his name, could not fail to have been proud. Every thing about it (if we except perhaps a touch of melodrama connected with the execution scene) is at once simple and great, and the plot is unfolded with singular simplicity, purity, and power. George Eliot is evidently a writer who needs a plot of great natural interest, and with a natural unity of its own, to unfold fully the resources of her genius. She has none of the concentrative and subjective intensity of Miss Bronte; her lights flow equally over her pictures; and we must add, that their tendency is to overflow. Her first publication, *Scenes from Clerical Life*, of which the first and last are quite loose sketches without any natural unity, show the characteristic freedom of her manner. She finds it difficult to concentrate her own interest, and therefore to concentrate her readers' interest, on any one particular current of life. Her genius delights in depicting the life of a little community; and even when she has got a really deep interest at work on her village stage, she is always anxious to remind herself and her readers how the general population are doing meanwhile in spite of it,—to picture them as they are, quite unconscious of the unfolding plot; and living out their ordinary lives in the ordinary way, with but few half-curious glances at the slowly-maturing crisis. This tendency gives a great charm to a tale in which the interest is really profound; for it turns the story from a mere narrative of individual perils, trials, joys, and sorrows, into a vivid illustration of the common human lot. There is a concentrated sort of egotism about common novels, even of a high order of talent, which is one reason why the interest in them is apt to die away in riper years. Sir Walter Scott's novels are never iron-bound by this purely individual kind of interest: to children they seem far too discursive, too little limited to the particular story; but his tales retain among the mature the popularity which they have in youth in great measure on this very account, that they range so pleasantly beyond the borders of the immediate narrative, and give us so wide a knowledge of the great common life in the heart of which the individual actors of the story were placed. But then, Sir Walter Scott had also an intense sympathy with action, which generally at least prevented his discursiveness from passing the boundaries of legitimate art. He never failed to give us a general background, a vista of tradition concerning the times of which he writes; but he seldom fails to make it a background to some much more vivid interest which fills the foreground in his own mind.

Perhaps the author of *Adam Bede* is to some extent deficient in this sympathy with action. At all events, *Adam Bede* and the short tale called *Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story* are the only tales of which the essence and the unity are determined by any natural unfolded plot; and even of these the structure is so simple, so entirely free from artificial complications, that in the hands of any one with less power to create living characters, their interest would be short-lived. George Eliot has obviously a great dislike to all those artificial enhancements of interest which do not arise fairly out of the moral constitutions of the characters; and this perhaps induces her to overlook too much the artistic value of a rapid current of action, of a certain shadow of suspense, as instruments in the exhibition of the deeper springs of human character. But if this indifference to the machinery of romance be a defect, it disappears in *Adam Bede*, and is closely connected with its greatest beauties. In almost any other writer's hands the story of seduction which is at the basis of *Adam Bede* would have been heightened by innumerable factitious elements, and the various threads of interest multiplied and interwoven at every point. George Eliot's natural aversion to these adventitious effects induce her to limit herself strictly to the simplest possible unfolding of the tragedy; and the consequence is, that the story gains in moral spaciousness far more than it could have lost in exciting elements.

Nor is this clearness of the moral space, this free movememt of personal character, a common characteristic of modern novels. There are two common errors into which even the greatest authors manage to fall, and by which they produce a suffocating effect in their pictures, and give the impression that their characters are, as Mr. Thackeray calls them, "puppets," with the strings pulled from behind. One error, the commonest in the greater modern artists, is to smother character in society,—to limit the whole scope of the delineation to the little effects which can be produced on a crowded canvas, where there is no room for even one mind to be itself, or to be seen apart from the rippling of social influences upon it. The other error, the commonest in writers of the older school, is to smother character in incident, to accumulate motives and external excitements so thickly, as to drown all spontaneous life in the artificial tension of passive emotion and involuntary impulse. One amongst several reasons why Scott's heroes and heroines are usually the poorest characters in his tales is, that they are made the centres of all these circumstantial interests,—the puppets arbitrarily moved about by these hidden strings. In neither case is there proper space for the free play of personal life. Real men of any force have a free sphere of their own, influenced, but in no way determined, by the social or circumstantial influences which hem them round; and to encumber the principal characters with too great a pressure of

subsidiary influences, whether of one kind or another, is almost inevitably to cramp the design and destroy the freedom of the life portrayed. Now there is nothing of all this in *Adam Bede*. There is no such concentration of distracting influences as to bewilder any of the characters out of their natural responsibility for themselves and their own actions. No doubt a rural society, a certain community of life, is depicted; but while this is kept constantly present to our minds by the fidelity with which all the mutual external relations of the village society are impressed on the language and bearing of all the characters delineated, yet each character stands out distinct and clear, holding its own destiny in its own power. This gives dignity, freedom, and simplicity to the whole, and adds a kind of solemnity to the movement of the principal action in the story, which, had it been complicated by any extraneous or chance elements, must have produced a less profound and single effect on the imagination.

Even in *Adam Bede* there is an occasional looseness in the texture of the narrative which indicates the characteristic tendency of the author to sketch in freely all her imagination has grasped, without reference to unity of design; but the intrinsic interest of the plot so far checks this tendency as to render it visible only when previously suggested by her other works. We see it mainly in this, that some of the principal figures, quite essential to the whole effect of the tale, stand too much outside the thread of the story, and take no part in its evolution. In Goethe's novel this fault reaches its climax; for no one has any reason to suppose, merely because a figure appears there, and is very carefully painted in, that it is to be connected in any way with the unwinding of the tale. George Eliot is not chargeable with any fault so great as this; but, without feeling any disposition to uphold mere technical or formal rules of art, we believe that there is a greater vividness of impression, a more concentrated effect produced on the mind, when the course of the narrative works *in conjunction* with the power of the artist to engrave the picture upon the memory, than when they work apart. Seth Bede, for instance, one of the best conceptions in the story, is almost entirely a spectator of its course; one might remember the whole essence of the plot, and almost forget its existence—and yet he is not a mere side-sketch, like Bartle Massey or Mr. Craig, for his character is essential to bring out in full relief the character of Adam. Even in this tale, then, the group of characters painted is a far more perfect work of art than the story taken as a whole, which includes them; for only one or two are strongly impressed on the mind by virtue of their close connection with the action of the narrative; the images of the remainder graphically as they are rendered, are conveyed to us mainly through dialogue and description.

But, this once admitted, there is no further qualification to make in our admiration of the art of the story. The group of characters, conceived in themselves, and without reference to the narrative, seems to us perfect,—a rural cartoon of marvellous simplicity, and yet stately in its beauty. The strong-headed, manly, sharp-tempered, secular carpenter, with his energetic satisfaction in work, his impatience of dreamers, and his early passion for Hetty's earthly loveliness,—the tender-hearted, mystic-minded Seth, who so readily unlooses his hold of his one dream of happiness,—the pretty, vain, little, pleasure-loving dairymaid, with her inarticulate love of luxury and dread of shame, so shallow that she cannot even feel a passing anticipation of the fate before her, but flutters into it like a moth into the candle,—the spiritual, transparent-minded, meditative, yet clear-sighted Methodist factory girl, whose delicate sensitiveness to the inward condition and wants of others never ruffles her own distinct apprehension of the personal duty before her,—the good-natured, self-deceiving, weak young squire, with his patronising generosity, and his disposition to comfort himself, in his self-reproach, with the good opinion of those who are totally ignorant of his grounds for self-reproach,—and the noble, easy-minded, tolerant rector, who feels so little impulse to exert moral influence over others that the Methodist factory-girl is a problem to him, and who, even where he has natural authority, rather shrinks from the intrusion necessary to exert it,—with the many other vividly painted figures more or less in the background,—the quick-witted, fretful Lisbeth, with her excessive fondness for the son she fears, and her half-contempt for the son whose religiousness she regards as an assurance to the family,—the more quick-witted and more audacious farmer's wife, whose reverence for the piety of her niece is so strongly mixed with dislike of eccentricity and dissent;—these, with the slighter but equally true outlines with which the picture is filled up, form one of the truest and most typical groups of English life we have ever seen delineated. Moreover, the characters themselves are not more perfectly handled than the scene. It is impossible to forget where we are for a moment. The hum of village life is heard throughout; the paramount influence of the manor-house, the substantial importance of the well-to-do farmer, the rector's authority in the parish,—are all conveyed without any effort through the force with which the author realises her scenes; and frequently we have a picture of idyllic beauty,—as where Adam Bede finds Hetty icking currants in the garden—that reminds us of the soft poetic touch with which Goethe delineated a situation that had sunk deep into his mind.

George Eliot's humour, which is very great, is not of the ironi-

cal or satirical kind. The covert meaning which aims at one thing while it appears to say another is not in her manner. Her danger in this respect is probably caricature, though there is but little real caricature in her writings. The humour in which she excels most has nothing in it of the self-command and reticence which gives its edge to irony. The satirist just moves away sufficiently from the station at which for the moment his character is placed to show you how one-sided and shallow that character is; but he keeps on the mask of sympathy, though he allows you to see him smiling under it; and half the sting of his irony consists in his assuming that the weakness probed is too deeply rooted in human nature to mock at openly, though we need not shut our eyes to it. There is nothing of this species of humour in George Eliot. She has a large share of that dramatic humour of which Shakespeare's is the model, which consists in a rapid and complete change of moral and intellectual latitude, in showing us the strangely different views of human things,—vulgar, contemplative, and practical,—which differently situated beings take. Of this kind of humour there is no more perfect specimen than the scene in which George Eliot enters into the unflinching (or as we might falsely say, indelicate) feeling of the uneducated towards Death, and the necessary accompaniments of Death, in telling us Lisbeth Bede's wishes about her husband's coffin and funeral.

"'What art goin' to do?' asked Lisbeth. 'Set about thy feyther's coffin?'

'No, mother,' said Adam; 'we're going to take the wood to the village, and have it made there.'

'Nay, my lad, nay,' Lisbeth burst out in an eager, wailing tone; 'thee wotna let nobody make thy feyther's coffin but thysen? Who'd make it so well? An' him as know'd what good work war, an's got a son as is th' head o' the village, an' all Treddles'on too, for cleverness.'

'Very well, mother, if that's thy wish, I'll make the coffin at home; but I thought thee wouldstna like to hear the work going on.'

'An' why shouldna I like 't? It's the right thing to be done— An' what's likin' got to do wi't? It's choice o' mislikins is all I'n in this world. One mossell's as good as another when your mouth's out o' taste. Thee mun set about it now this mornin' fust thing— I wunna ha' nobody to touch the coffin but thee.'

Adam's eyes met Seth's, which looked from Dinah to him rather wistfully.

'No, mother,' he said, 'I'll not consent, but Seth shall have a hand in it too, if it's to be done at home. I'll go to the village this forenoon, because Mr. Burge 'ull want to see me, and Seth

shall stay at home and begin the coffin. I can come back at noon, and then he can go.'

'Nay, nay,' persisted Lisbeth, beginning to cry, 'I'n set my heart on't as thee shalt ma' thy feyther's coffin. Thee't so stiff an' masterful, thee't ne'er do as thy mother wants thee. Thee wast often angered wi' thy feyther when he war alive; thee must be the better to 'm now he's gone. *He'd ha' thought nothin' on't for Seth to ma's coffin.*'"

The greatest effort and greatest success of the book consist, however, in the wonderful power of the contrast between Hetty and Dinah. From the first introduction of Dinah preaching to the crowd on the village green, and winning her little success over the vain heart of the blacksmith's daughter, and the first appearance of Hetty tossing her butter in the dairy, full of conscious delight at *her* little success in rivetting Captain Donnithorne's admiration, the interest centres in these two figures. What common measure of human nature can apply to them both? Near as they are in position, and equal in attractions, and belonging alike to the same half-educated class, they represent evidently the highest and lowest grade in the scale of spiritual nature, and the thoughts that fill the mind of the one do not even rouse the faintest echo in the nature of the other. The art of the contrast is the greater that it is never forced on our attention, and never exaggerated. Yet from the first it is growing upon us. Dinah's gentle rejection of the one brother whom she cannot love opens the tale, while Hetty's conduct to the other whom she cannot love forms its climax of interest. The interest is the deeper and truer that it is not the commonplace antithesis between right and wrong, but between the finest and most delicate of spiritual consciences, and that absolute inaccessibility to moral or spiritual thought which marks a soft, shallow, pleasure-loving nature preoccupied with self-love. The moral *material* of which the two girls are made seems chargeable with the difference rather than any conduct of their own. Can any meeting-point be found between the two? or, if not, any experience, however strange, which shall bridge the apparently impassable gulf? This is in great measure the theme of the story; and the scene in which it is first fully realised,—where Dinah and Hetty are pictured in the adjoining bedrooms, each in their separate world,—is one of the most powerful pieces of imaginative writing which the present generation has produced. We can but extract the closing passage:

"What a strange contrast the two figures made! Visible enough in that mingled twilight and moonlight. Hetty, her cheeks flushed and her eyes glistening from her imaginary drama, her beautiful neck and arms bare, her hair hanging in a curly tangle down her

back, and the baubles in her ears. Dinah, covered with her long white dress, her pale face full of subdued emotion, almost like a lovely corpse into which the soul has returned charged with sublimer secrets and a sublimer love. They were nearly of the same height; Dinah evidently a little the taller as she put her arm round Hetty's waist, and kissed her forehead.

'I knew you were not in bed, my dear,' she said, in her sweet clear voice, which was irritating to Hetty, mingling with her own peevish vexation like music with jangling chains, 'for I heard you moving; and I longed to speak to you again to-night, for it is the last but one that I shall be here, and we don't know what may happen to-morrow to keep us apart. Shall I sit down with you while you do up your hair?' 'O yes,' said Hetty, hastily turning round and reaching the second chair in the room, glad that Dinah looked as if she did not notice her earrings.

Dinah sat down, and Hetty began to brush together her hair before twisting it up, doing it with that air of excessive indifference which belongs to confused self-consciousness. But the expression of Dinah's eyes gradually relieved her; they seemed unobservant of all details. 'Dear Hetty,' she said, 'it has been borne in upon my mind to-night that you may some day be in trouble—trouble is appointed for us all here below, and there comes a time when we need more comfort and help than the things of this life can give. I want to tell you that if ever you are in trouble and need a friend that will always feel for you and love you, you have got that friend in Dinah Morris at Snowfield; and if you come to her, or send for her, she'll never forget this night, and the words she is speaking to you now. Will you remember it, Hetty?' 'Yes,' said Hetty, rather frightened. 'But why should you think that I shall be in trouble? Do you know of anything?' Hetty had seated herself as she tied on her cap, and now Dinah leaned forwards and took her hands as she answered, 'Because, dear, trouble comes to us all in this life; we set our hearts on things which it isn't God's will for us to have, and then we go sorrowing; the people we love are taken from us, and we can joy in nothing because they are not with us; sickness comes, and we faint under the burden of our feeble bodies; we go astray and go wrong, and bring ourselves into trouble with our fellow-men. There is no man or woman born into this world to whom some of these trials do not fall, and so I feel that some of them must happen to you; and I desire for you, that while you are young you should seek for strength from your Heavenly Father, that you may have a support which will not fail you in the evil day.'

Dinah paused and released Hetty's hands, that she might not hinder her. Hetty sat quite still; she felt no response within herself

to Dinah's anxious affection; but Dinah's words, uttered with solemn, pathetic distinctness, affected her with a chill fear. Her flush had died away almost to paleness; she had the timidity of a luxurious pleasure-seeking nature, which shrinks from the hint of pain. Dinah saw the effect, and her tender, anxious pleading became the more earnest, till Hetty, full of a vague fear that something evil was sometime to befall her, began to cry. . . . . Dinah had never seen Hetty affected in this way before, and with her usual benignant hopefulness, she trusted it was the stirring of a divine impulse. She kissed the sobbing thing, and began to cry with her for grateful joy. But Hetty was simply in that excitable state of mind in which there is no calculating what turn the feelings may take from one moment to another, and for the first time she became irritated under Dinah's caress. She pushed her away impatiently, and said with a childish sobbing voice, 'Don't talk to me so, Dinah. Why do you come to frighten me? I've never done anything to you. Why can't you let me be?'

Poor Dinah felt a pang. She was too wise to persist, and only said mildly, 'Yes, my dear, you're tired; I won't hinder you any longer. Make haste and get into bed. Good night.' She went out of the room almost as quietly and quickly as if she had been a ghost; but once by the side of her own bed, she threw herself on her knees and poured out in deep silence all the passionate pity that filled her heart. As for Hetty, she was soon in the wood again—her waking dreams being merged in a sleeping life scarcely more fragmentary and confused."

This is powerful, and it seems scarcely possible that the conception of a problem so deep should be worked out with any adequate success; and yet the development is as powerful as the commencement, and the solution most powerful of all. To depict the sufferings of a sensitive and frail nature—the remorse of guilt, the despair of shame—this would be comparatively easy to an imagination so powerful as George Eliot's. But to deal with a nature too shallow for any real sense of guilt, too easily numbed by pain for clear thought at all, too cowardly for despair—and to show how, by the slow, dull pressure of mingled shame and hardship, momentarily broken by a new instinct, and then renewed after a more conscious act of guilt, a dim sense of spiritual things, literally *wrung* out of this sterile, little, pleasure-loving life, all, under Dinah's kindly influence, it becomes a distinct cry for help,—this is a task as great as any which an imaginative writer below the rank of a great poet ever attempted. Let us observe with what flexibility the author contracts her own powerful imagination within the limits of Hetty's nature, and delineates the growing wretchedness and numbness of her vacant mind during

the futile journey in search of Captain Donnithorne, the helpless attempt to destroy herself, and the violent shrinking of her whole being from the brink of death.

"There it was, black under the darkening sky: no motion, no sound near. She set down her basket, and then sank down herself on the grass, trembling. The pool had its wintry depth now; by the time it got shallow, as she remembered the pools did at Hayslope, in the summer, no one could find out that it was her body. But then there was her basket—she must hide that too: she must throw it into the water—make it heavy with stones first and then throw it in. She got up to look about for stones, and soon brought five or six, which she laid down beside her basket, and then sat down again. There was no need to hurry—there was all the night to drown herself in. She sat leaning her elbow on the basket. She was weary, hungry. There were some buns in her basket—three, which she had supplied herself with at the place where she ate her dinner. She took them out now, and ate them eagerly, and then sat still again, looking at the pool. The soothed sensation that came over her from the satisfaction of her hunger, and this fixed dreamy attitude, brought on drowsiness, and presently her head sank down on her knees. She was fast asleep. When she awoke it was deep night, and she felt chill. She was frightened at this darkness—frightened at the long night before her. If she *could* but throw herself into the water! No, not yet. She began to walk about that she might get warm again, as if she would have more resolution then. . . . . .

The horror of this cold, and darkness and solitude—out of all human reach—became greater every long minute: it was almost as if she were dead already, and knew that she was dead and longed to get back to life again. But no: she was alive still; she had not taken the dreadful leap. She felt a strange contradictory wretchedness and exultation; wretchedness, that she did not dare to face death; exultation, that she was still in life—that she might yet know light and warmth again. She walked backwards and forwards to warm herself, beginning to discern something of the objects around her, as her eyes became accustomed to the night: the darker line of the hedge, the rapid motion of some living creature—perhaps a field-mouse—rushing across the grass. She no longer felt as if the darkness hedged her in: she thought she could walk back across the field, and get over the stile and then, in the very next field, she thought she remembered there was a hovel of furze near a sheepfold. . . . . .

She had found the shelter: she groped her way, touching the prickly gorse, to the door, and pushed it open. It was an ill-smelling close place, but warm, and there was straw on the ground: Hetty

sank down on the straw with a sense of escape. Tears came—she had never shed tears before since she left Windsor—tears and sobs of hysterical joy that she had still hold of life, that she was still on the familiar earth, with the sheep near her. The very consciousness of her own limbs was a delight to her: she turned up her sleeves, and kissed her arms with the passionate love of life."

Seldom has any human experience been more powerfully painted, and yet the confession in prison which Dinah at last wins from her is still more powerful. In short, the whole thread of inward history which unites the first interview between them in Hetty's bedroom with the last in her cell, is recounted with a power quite unsurpassed in fiction. With no more promising instrument to work upon than the most sterile and frivolous of characters, George Eliot has brought forth tones which are far more pathetic than could have been extorted from a nobler type of suffering and penitence, for they seem to attest more solemnly the capacities of all men—of man. The spiritual and the earthly natures find at last a single meeting-point in the infantine cry for divine mercy which poor little Hetty puts forth to Dinah rather than to God.

The artistic conditions under which the author of *Adam Bede* works are, when she chooses, singularly favourable to the exhibition of the only kind of "moral" which a genuine artist should admit. No one now ever thinks of assuming that a writer of fiction lies under any obligation to dispose of his characters exactly as he would perhaps feel inclined to do, if he could determine for them the circumstances of a real instead of an imaginary life. It was a quaint idea of the last generation to suppose that the moral tendency of a tale lay, not in discriminating evil and good, but in the zeal which induced the novelist to provide, before the end of the third volume, for plucking up and burning the tares. But though we have got over that notion, our modern satirists are leading us into the opposite extreme, and trying to convince us that even discrimination itself in such deep matters is nearly impossible. The author of the *Mill on the Floss* may not be exempt from this tendency; but in *Adam Bede* it is not discernible. The only moral in a ficticious story which can properly be demanded of writers of genius is,—*not* to shape their tale this way or that, which they may justly decline to do on artistic grounds,—but to discriminate clearly the relative nobility of the characters they do conceive; in other words, to give us light enough in their pictures to let it be clearly seen where the shadows are intended to lie. An artist who leaves it doubtful whether he recognises the distinction between good and evil at all, or who detects in all his characters so much evil that the readers' sympathies must either be entirely passive or side with what is evil, is blind to artistic as well as moral laws.

To banish confusion from a picture is the first duty of the artist; and confusion must exist where those lines which are the most essential of all for determining the configuration of human character are invisible or indistinctly drawn. Moreover, we think it may be said that in painting human nature, an artist is bound to give due weight to the motives which would claim authority over him in other acts of his life; and as he would be bound at any time and in any place to do anything in his power to make clear the relation between good and evil, the same motive ought to induce him never to omit in his drawing to put in a light or a shadow which would add to the moral truthfulness of the picture.

But this conceded, an artist must still work according to the conditions of his own genius; and where that genius leads him only to give lively sketches, such as Miss Austen's for example, of the social externals of character, and barely to indicate the interior forces which determine its form and growth, it is unreasonable to expect more than a very superficial moral. Those stories alone can have deep morals which are concerned with the deepest moral phenomena; but where this is so they must show them in their true light. *Adam Bede* may be said to produce in this sense a deeper and nobler moral impression than any other story of our day. It exhibits in close mutual relations characters of very various degrees of moral depth. It teaches us to discriminate truly between them. It has for its centre-piece one singularly beautiful and bright character which illuminates the whole narrative, and so aids to realise the good and the evil in all the others; and hence every conscience as well as every imagination gains fresh force and distincter vision from its perusal.

Art. VIII.—THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

WE should never have so goodly a conceit of ourselves, if we had not first an undue opinion of self-power; that is to say, unless we are proud, and full of a spirit of independency. It seems to be the most general opinion, that this was the cause of the angels' and of Adam's fall: and if so, it is the greatest bar to the recovery of the soul.

Whatever was the sin of Lucifer, it is probable the sin of Adam was the same. It is natural to suppose the devil would tempt him to transgress in the same way that he himself did, as well knowing the sad effects of it.

Virtue is considered by us as necessary chiefly for the peace and welfare of society; and this is generally pretty well secured by that spurious thing which has the name of it, viz. convenience, ease, and a sense of reputation. If our behaviour is but calculated to answer these ends, we look no further; and perhaps wonder in the pride of our hearts why God does not, as he easily might, interpose to prevent the mischiefs occasioned by the perverseness of a few. But then, he himself is ever and anon troubling the order of the world and the repose of individuals, by terrible inflictions. The consequence is plain—we are ignorant of our state, and live in a perpetual mistake. God does not make so great reckoning of this life as we do. He aims at the reformation of the heart; and the severe methods he takes to bring it about prove the necessity of such a reformation.

What farther proof can we need of the wretched perverseness and corruption of man's heart, than that he should desire, esteem, and love the things which are confessedly unable to make him happy, and that what can, should be the only thing he does not desire?

The man who knows himself to be a devil, is in a fair way to be a saint.—Rom. iii. 9, 18.

It is no uncommon thing for men to do good without virtue, give without charity, and pray without religion.

It is difficult to keep self from mingling with the work of salvation. We think it hard that we may not be allowed to pay something towards the price of it; to contribute some work or fancied worthiness of our own; that is to say (shocking thought!), we should put something of our own into the scale with the blood of Christ, to make it full weight.

There is something odd happens in the mixing of paganism with Christianity. The appearance of Christianity remains, the substance evaporates; the appearance of paganism vanishes, the substance remains.

If we were left to nature to choose a god and a heaven for ourselves, it would not be the God that made the heavens and the earth, nor our heaven that where he dwells.

Reading is for the most part only a more refined species of sensuality, and answers man's purposes of shuffling off his great work with God and himself, as well as a ball or masquerade.

Man is an arrant bungler at God's work; he spoils all if he does but touch it with a finger. What a terrible mortification, to think that the business of his salvation cannot go forward unless he is separated from himself, and, as it were, outlawed as a mischievous person, or thrown into a corner as a piece of useless lumber!

Business, amusement, company, a general relish of life, and a confused hope of mercy in God or of future amendment, keep the

soul tolerably quiet here; but how dreadfully amazing is it to think of its being consigned to a state of eternal reprobation without one single object to divert its attention from its own frightful nakedness!

It may not be improper to consider every person we happen to be in company with, in three respects, let his station or circumstances be what they will: 1st, as having an high opinion of himself; 2nd, as one for whom Christ died; and, 3rd, as naturally lying under great disadvantages with regard to his spiritual concerns. The first will be a caution to us not to affront or offend him; the second will engage us to promote his salvation; the third to pity his infirmities.

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Life of Jesus, the Christ. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. London: T. Nelson & Sons, Paternoster Row.

ALL men have capacity for doing something, more or less; some men are capable of doing a great deal; but no man whatever his faculty can do everything. Even Mr. Beecher's capability, though vast and versatile, is limited. For the work of preaching the Gospel he is superbly endowed; we might almost say his preaching endowments are unrivalled. The foremost preachers of the day, not even excepting our own Spurgeon, must stand behind, and reckon second to him in several respects. For fertility of thought, for brilliance of fancy, for power of adapting the truth of God to the multiform conditions of modern society, Mr. Beecher is unrivalled among his contemporaries. As a preacher he wields an immense influence for good; first, by the living voice, and second, to a much greater extent through the press. His printed sermons exert an unspeakably wider influence than his spoken sermons. Tens of thousands on both sides the Atlantic, who never heard and never can hear his voice, as well as the favoured congregation at Brooklyn, have their spiritual being moved and moulded week after week by his electric words. Despite his vagaries, and extravagancies, and heterodoxies, he is doing a great and good work for God and man, both in England and America. Would he only stick to his preaching! But, not content with the work for which God has bestowed upon him suberb endowments, he will stretch beyond his line. In attempting, for instance, to write a Life of Christ, in which he has to deal critically with some of the most difficult historical, philosophical, and theological questions, he exceeds his faculty, and consequently fails, egregiously fails. The volume before us (which, by the way, is only an instalment of the Life of Christ), contains many passages rich in precious thought and lustrous with the prismatic colourings of a sanctified genius; but, regarding the book as a work of art, or an attempt to reproduce the Life of Christ on esthetic principles, we must pronounce it to be radically defective. Great as are Mr. Beecher's natural and acquired gifts, he is not qualified for work of this kind. He lacks historic imagination, he lacks critical accumen, he lacks judicial faculty. His absurd conception respecting the person of Christ, vitiates and spreads an air of unreality over the whole of this work.

According to Beecher, Christ had no human soul at all. All of humanity he possessed was his body: the enshrined Deity supplied the place and performed the functions of a human soul. It therefore follows that Christ was not a man in any proper sense of the word. Other notions equally at variance with reason and common sense disfigure the work. Still, it may be read with advantage. It brims over with bright and beautiful thoughts; it flashes with the lights of genius; it glows with hallowed warmth. It is not a good book, but there are many, very many, good things in it.

The Fallacies of the Alleged Antiquity of Man. Exposed by WILLIAM COOKE, D D. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.; G. Lamb, Sutton Street.

SOME leading scientists of the day have gained unenviable notoriety by broaching and advocating scientific theories at variance with established religious conviction, and tending to overthrow public confidence in the validity and authority of the Bible. Of these theories none has created more uneasiness in religious circles than that which attributes to the human race an antiquity stretching some 100,000 or 200,000 years beyond the Mosaic date of creation. The boldness, plausibility, and show of scientific evidence with which this theory has been developed and protruded upon public attention, have disturbed the minds of many good people by suggesting doubt respecting the integrity of Holy Scripture, and by introducing into their religious thinkings an element of uncertainty. For this class of persons the present volume is specially intended, and, after having given it a careful reading, we can with confidence say it is admirably fitted to remove doubt, to quiet apprehension, and to give assurance that with regard to the period during which man has been a denizen of earth, as well as upon other still more important matters, the Bible record is worthy of unqualified trust. The manner in which the author conducts his argument is at once scientific, and logical, inductive and deductive. He, first of all, gives an exposition of the theory which it is his object to confute, showing in a number of particulars that it is in diametrical opposition to the history, the predictions and the doctrines of the Bible, and that if received, the Bible must of necessity be surrendered. Next, in a brief, condensed, but comprehensive form, he presents the evidence adduced in its support, supplying a *multum in parvo* version of all that can be said in its favour. Finally, by a searching analysis he shows that a large proportion of the trumped-up evidence, nine-tenths at least, is unreal, imaginary, fictitious, the outcome of imposture, false analysis, or illogical reasonings; and that the residue is by no means at variance with the orthodox doctrine. We don't remember ever having read a polemical work with such unqualified satisfaction as this. Its method is simple and compact, its style clear and trenchant, and its reasoning forcible and conclusive. Often has the venerable and learned author appeared in the arena of controversy in defence of the faith once delivered to the saints, and in every instance he has acquitted himself in a manner of which his friends have reason to be proud; the present volume is worthy of his best days, and will add to his fame. We give it our emphatic recommendation.

The Years Before the Battle. A record of some of the characteristics and tendencies of English Society during the middle decades of the nineteenth century; embracing subjects political, social, and religious. BY A WAYSIDE OBSERVER —London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row. A. D. 1913.

As this pamphlet is dated 1913, the "battle" referred to on the title-page must be the battle of "Dorking," that disastrous struggle which covered our country with military dishonour, subverted our political institutions, overthrew our dynasty, and brought this grand old nation—once the freest and mightiest empire of the world—un-

der degrading vassalage to a foreign power. These disasters are here traced not to our want of forts, defective armaments, and imperfect army and navy organization, but chiefly to moral causes, such as drunkenness, debauchery, voluptuousness, selfishness, hypocrisy, and hollow-heartedness in general The *brochure* is a felicitous conception. The review given of "The characteristics and tendencies of English society during the middle decades of the nineteenth century," is marked by intelligent observation and sage reflection; and it is only by giving due heed to the weighty lessons here suggested that we as a nation can escape greater disaster than "The Battle of Dorking." Nothing but a little more briskness of style is required to render this pamphlet popular.

The Friendly Visitor. 1871. Illustrated by John Gilbert, Harrison, Weir, R. Barnes, W. J. Webb, J. D. Watson, &c. London: Messrs. Seely, Jackson, and Halliday, 54, Fleet-street.

WHETHER regard be had to the appearance or contents of this volume, it is deserving of high commendation. The binding is exquisitely embellished, the pictorial illustrations are in the best style of art, and the reading is fitted to instruct the mind, amend the heart, and guide the conduct. Some of the narratives are very touching, presenting most beautiful and pathetic exemplifications of the practical working of good and bad principles, and well calculated to win the heart of the reader to the love of virtue. Though not much given to the melting mood we are free to confess that the tears have unwittingly started to our eyes more than once while glancing over the pages of this volume. We heartily recommend it to all classes of readers; and as its price (2s. 6d.) brings it within reach of comparatively poor people, we trust it will find its way by thousands to the homes and hearths of the working classes.

The Christian Journal. Toronto. 1872.

THIS weekly serial is the literary organ of Primitive Methodism in Canada. Until last Conference it was conducted by the Rev. Thomas Crompton, favourably known on this side the Atlantic as the author of a volume on Church Agency. The journal is now in the hands of the Rev. William Rowe, our devoted and labourious Missionary Secretary and Book Steward for the Dominion. During our short visit to Canada in 1870, it was our happiness to form the acquaintance of Mr. Rowe, and the impressions we then received of his intelligence and judgment, of his energy and prudence, assure us that the duties of editorship will be faithfully and efficiently discharged by him. Several of the recent numbers of the Journal have come under our eye, and we are happy to say they bear a really respectable character. We wish our brother editor the utmost possible success, and hope that by his labours the interests of truth and righteousness may be greatly advanced in the Dominion.

Friendly Criticisms. An enquiry into the scriptural character of certain statements set forth by the Rev. C. N. Grey, Vicar of Helmsley, in a paper read at a Church Conference recently held at Scarborough. By W. T. LUMLEY. Kirby Moorside: W. T. Lumley.

THE Vicar of Helmsley is one of those clergymen who are doing their utmost to unprotestantize the Church of England, and to pave the way for the re-establishment of Popery. His address at the Scarborough Church Conference contained some very objectionable sentiments, for which he is very properly called to account in this pamphlet. Mr. Lumley, its author, wields a trenchant pen in defence of the Protestant faith.

THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR.

ART. I.—HUGH LATTIMER: THE PREACHER OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

A LECTURE.

THE man whose life and character are here dwelt upon was one of the foremost men who effected the great religious transition of this country from Romanism to Protestantism in the sixteenth century. He was not a statesman like Cranmer to act in the councils of the nation; his forte and power was preaching. He did more by the living voice to penetrate this land with God's truth than any one else, thus making the people Protestant, without which, notwithstanding all the policy of men in high places, the Reformation could not have been possible.

The name of Lattimer figures in English history, but it is this preaching bishop which has made it immortal. The etymologists say that the name is the same as Latiner, that is, one who understood and interpreted Latin, and meant an interpreter in general. His birthplace was Thurcastone, a peaceful Leicestershire village, not far from which were localities made famous by their connection with illustrious persons, two of whom were his contemporaries. Broadgate Park was the residence of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey; while, in the renowned Leicester Abbey reposes the dust of that wily, ambitious, splendid churchman, Cardinal Wolsey.

The exact date of Lattimer's birth is not known. Some weight must be attached to the uniform tradition that his age was extreme at the time of his martyrdom, but more than this, his trusty and noble servant, Augustine Bernher—to whom we are indebted for the preservation of some of his sermons—says, that his master was above three score years and ten in the reign of Edward VI. With due regard to all the circumstances and probabilities, the period may be fixed in 1484 or 1485. About this period, then, this Leicestershire farm-house was gladdened by the advent of this the youngest child of Hugh Lattimer. None of the family

seem to have been robust, and his brothers all died young. This lad inherited a feeble constitution, which often interfered in after years with his arduous labours. He was born in stirring times. Armies were gathering to fight the last of the battles in the wars of the Roses; and the victorious Richmond was soon to be crowned Henry VII. The yeomanry of that day constituted the real strength of England. They were an active, sturdy, and a generally well-to-do class, and formed the best representatives of the strength and intelligence of the nation. From this class most of the leading men of the sixteenth century proceeded. Luther and Knox, Zwingle and Melancthon, More and Wolsey, Lattimer and Erasmus, all sprang from the sturdy yeomanry or simple handicraftsmen of the day. Lattimer was therefore by birth a man of the people. This was fitting; for as his life was to be spent among them his eloquence would be more likely to touch the chords of popular sympathy, and his influence to impress and guide the masses would be greatly strengthened. No account of his early life would be just which omitted to give his own graphic and homely description of "The old house at home," taken from a sermon, preached before Edward and his Court. He says, "My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own. He had only a farm of three or four pounds a year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much land as kept half-a-dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did bring the king a harness, with himself and his horse, when he came to the place where he should receive the king's wages. I remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds apiece, and brought them up in godliness and the fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor."

An ordinary imagination can realise this slim child following his mother to milk her thirty kine, or accompanying his father to the fields, or repairing with the family to the fairs and church festivals at Leicester; amused, it may be, at the sports, or amazed at the stately ceremonials. In the long winter evenings the family would listen to the tales of the wars, of Bosworth field and the older conflicts of the Yorkists and the Lancastrians. Lutterworth, the cradle of Lollardism, and the scene of Wycliffe's labours, was only one day's journey from Thurcastone, and there would be some secret Wycliffites thereabouts. Lattimer's home, however, was kept free from any taint of what men then called heresy. He was in mature life before he heard the infallibility of his church assailed.

Young Lattimer, like many delicate children, was a precocious

boy; even at the early age of four or five he had such a sharp wit, was so quick in answering questions, and so sage in his observations that he delighted or amazed his friends and neighbours. So that his father was justified in his resolution to rear his son in erudition and good knowledge. Educational facilities then were very scant. The schoolmaster had not begun to exist, much less to go abroad; the only opportunity for the education of a lad like young Lattimer was with the parish priest or the fathers at the Abbey. Small as his advantages were he used them well, and what was then called learning was well ground into his young intellect. In physical exercise, which he needed greatly, the older Lattimer took great pains to train him carefully. Many forget, in rearing frail children, how necessary it is to educate the limbs and develop the muscles. Farmer Lattimer attended to both mind and body. In one of his sermons the bishop makes apt and graceful mention of his father's care in this respect. He says, "My poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot as to learn me any other thing. He taught me how to draw my bow, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms as other nations do, but with strength of body. I had my bows bought me according to my age and strength; as I increased in them so my bows were made bigger and bigger; for men shall never shoot or do anything else well except they be brought up to it; it is a goodly art, a wholesome kind of exercise, and much commended in physic." Thus, with close application to learning, and in manly physical exercises, he passed the first fifteen or eighteen years of his life.

The quiet of his home life would be disturbed by the summons of the king to his father to assist in the subduing of the Perkin Warbeck insurrection. The young Pretender was supported by English exiles and foreign adventurers, whom the forces of the king soon drove into the sea, save the 160 captives, who were driven to London like a team of cattle and executed to a man. Eagerly would the Thurcastone household look for the return of its head, and listen to the tales of the war, and of the wealth and wonders of London.

If there was little to disturb the "even tenour" of life at this Leicestershire farm-house, there were happening abroad events of vast significance. Letters and religion were reviving. On the Continent learned men were leaving the barren disputations of the schoolmen, and their dreary theology was getting the first of those death-blows the last of which it is getting in our day. That mighty giant, the printing press, was in its infancy, but was commencing the greatest of revolutions in the ways and thinkings of men. Then, again, Europe was ringing with the stories of the new world just discovered by the hardy Spaniard, Columbus. Thus

the torpor and intellectual stagnation of the ages were being shaken off. Men were beginning to live a happier and broader life. There was another event occurring which in years to come would excite the minds of men and constitute an important part in the drama of the Reformation. Henry VII., whose greed for gold amounted to a passion, and who was a remorseless driver of a hard bargain, resolved per force to unite Catherine of Arragon to one of his sons for the sake of her enormous dower. After four months of wedded misery, the poor boy, the Prince of Wales, died. To retain the young lady, the king resolved to make Prince Henry, then a mere child, take her to wife. Indeed, he would have married this daughter-in-law himself rather than let her dower go. In granting the requisite dispensation for this marriage little did Rome forecast that to dissolve this very marriage Henry would break with Rome, and thus strike the first overt blow for the English Reformation.

But to return to Lattimer's life. Making great proficiency in learning, and being too delicate for the hard life of a yeoman, he was sent to Cambridge to prepare for the church. We do not purpose to follow out the few threads of information of his University career further than to say that the uniform traditional accounts of his high reputation for learning are borne out by these facts: whilst he was an undergraduate he won a fellowship, and at an early period took his degree. He also obtained early ordination, and the University licence to preach in any part of England; and, in addition to this, he was, when quite young, elevated to be the Cross-bearer of the University. Among the vistors to Cambridge, just as Lattimer became Master of Arts, was a shrewd, diminutive-looking Dutchman, Erasmus, one of the most learned and gifted men of his day, the earnest promoter of the new learning, and the introducer of the Greek Testament into England. He was for a year one of the Professors in the University. He had not long departed when, in a reactionary craze, the authorities publicly and ignominiously burnt all of Luther's books they could purchase or seize. This unreasoning procedure only excited a desire and curiosity in the minds of the students to become acquainted with these proscribed books. So that this literary *auto da fe* only tended to spread the obnoxious opinions.

There was at that time a young doctor of Canon law residing at Cambridge, one Thomas Bilney, feeble and diminutive in person. "Little Bilney" Lattimer calls him. He was as conspicuous for his ascetic devotion as for his learning and ability. He had passed through spiritual distress as violent as Luther's. He knelt before his confessor in his mental agony and told all, even those sins of which he doubted. The haughty confessor, who was a blind spiritual guide, imposed penance, fasting, watching, and all bodily

mortification. In his spiritual distress the young doctor went through all until his slim body was wasted, his mental operations hindered, and his purse emptied. "Alas!" he says, "my state grew worse and worse; my anguish waxed tenfold more violent." The thought flashed upon him, "Are not these priests seeking their own gain, and not the salvation of my soul?" One day he heard some of his friends talking of a new book. It was Erasmus's Greek Testament, with a translation much extolled for its pure Latinity. His first resolve was to procure one, but he hesitated, as a loyal churchman, when he remembered that the priest had proscribed the book. Yet, he reasoned, if it is God's Word why should God's Church forbid the use of God's Word? He stepped forward and then shrunk back. Urged at length by the "Divinity that shapes our ends," he walked to the house where the book was sold in secret, made his purchase with fear and trembling, and then hied himself off to his chamber, locked the door and opened his treasure. His eyes fell upon that most blessed of asseverations—"This is a faithful saying," &c. What! Saul, the chief of sinners, and yet he found mercy! There must, then, surely be hope for him. He read and prayed until the saving power of God's truth broke the fetters of his soul. His despair fled, his days of anguish were ended. An unknown joy took possession of him and filled all his soul with sunshine. "Yes," he cried, "I see it now; it is Jesus who saves, and not the Church. My vigils, fastings, and penance were destroying and not saving me." Duns Scotus and Aquinas were laid aside for the words of Jesus and the apostles. His business and delight was in studying the New Testament. In his new life he could not be inactive; he assembled groups of young men, and, with his finger upon the words which had been full of blessing to himself, he preached unto them salvation through Jesus Christ. But Bilney had soon to encounter fierce opposition, and among the bitterest of his opponents was the ardent cross-bearer, Hugh Lattimer. He looked disdainfully upon the new learning. He was never profoundly learned in Greek, but few men in Cambridge knew the Latin fathers and the schoolmen better than he. So he gathered crowds of young men about him and used all his learning and eloquence to commend the writings of the school doctors and to depreciate the new learning. On a great University occasion he directed the whole of his oration against Melancthon. Bilney saw, with profoundest sorrow, all this zeal without knowledge, and resolved to attempt to win him by stratagem. He went to Lattimer's rooms and said, "For God's sake, father, hear my confession." The heretic confess to the Catholic! "Ah," Lattimer might say, "My oration against heresy has done good. Who knows but that he now returns to the bosom of the Church. If he comes the reaction will be complete." Bilney knelt down and related in his

ear, with touching simplicity, the anguish of soul he had formerly endured, the earnest efforts he had made to rid him of his misery by the appliances of the Church, but all were utterly abortive; and then he told how, by simple faith alone in Jesus Christ, who came into the world to save sinners, he received the spirit of adoption, and could humbly yet boldly cry, "Abba, Father!" Bilney's words sank into Lattimer's heart. It was indeed the sword of the spirit entering in and becoming a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. And, like Saul on the way to Damascus, he was conquered. He stammered out a few words of sorrow at his own blindness and sinfulness. It was not the penitent, but the confessor, who received absolution that day; indeed, the confessor had become the penitent. Lattimer viewed with horror his grievous sins and wept bitterly. Bilney comforted him and said, "Brother Lattimer, be of good cheer: though your sins be as scarlet they shall be white as snow!" Bilney's words were like medicine of healing virtue to his troubled spirit. It would have been a spectacle worth looking upon—the two men locked in this room, the one leading the other to Christ—both destined to play their parts in the coming struggle, and both to lay down life itself for their Divine Master. Lattimer was thoroughly and radically changed. The fiery energy of his nature became tempered by divine love. A new field of knowledge opened to his view. Instead of cavilling and persecuting, he devoted himself to religious exercises and the earnest study of the New Testament. He delighted in the society of Bilney, and they walked and talked as brothers of the things of God. Their place of resort at Cambridge is yet known as "Heretics' Hill." Lattimer's conversion operated like an electric shock at Cambridge. He had been the honoured champion of orthodoxy—the pride of the University. In the face of fierce opposition he continued his career, and did no little towards filling England with the light of truth. What Tyndale did with his pen, and Cranmer and Cromwell did by statecraft, Lattimer did more effectually by his preaching. He may be said to have reinaugurated on a large scale the preaching of the Cross of Christ, and soon men began to say, "Of a Saul hath God made a Paul." Bilney and he soon began to work together for the spread and defence of gospel truth. They explored the gloomy cells of the madhouse and bore the precious consolations of Christ to the maniacs. They went into the Lazar-house, outside the city walls, and sought the neglected lepers, wrapped them in clean sheets, and spoke to them of the Great Healer. The gaoler opened the gates of the dark prison, where men and women rotted away their lives, and to these abject prisoners they spoke of a divine liberty. They found a woman lying under sentence of death, wrongly charged, and Lattimer, in one of his first inter-

views with the king, besought, on his knees, the life of the poor creature, and took her back her pardon.

But let it not be understood that Lattimer became a full-blown Protestant at once. No. Coming as out of a grave, he was some years in throwing off all the grave-clothes. Gradually were his eyes opened to the full enormity of the papal confederacy against human liberty and the word of God. But his attitude was sufficiently pronounced to excite the virulent opposition of the ruling ecclesiastics. This lead a proud prelate (West, Bishop of Ely) to go and hear Lattimer for himself. He entered the church just as Lattimer commenced his sermon. That coolness and presence of mind, which was one of the prominent features of his character, served him well in this peculiar situation. He paused until the prelate and his splendid retinue were seated; then, with admirable tact, he changed his subject, adroitly remarking, "A new audience demands a new theme." He turned to Christ's Priesthood, then spoke of the office of a priest and of Christ as the great pattern. It is easy to conceive the effect of such a subject, treated in Lattimer's homely, forcible, and eloquent manner. To an audience of clergymen the subject had the double recommendation of importance and appropriateness, and his hearers were made to feel how widely they had departed from the Divine model of true pastors; and he intimated pretty plainly that "they were not the bishops and priests which Christ would have, but were of the fellowship of Caiaphas and Annas." After service, West sent for the preacher, and thanked him for his excellent sermon, saying, "I never heard the office so well expounded, and if you will do one thing I will kneel down and kiss your feet for the admonition I have this day received." "What is your lordship's pleasure?" quoth Mr. Lattimer. "Marry!" quoth the bishop; "that you will preach me in this place one sermon against Martin Luther and his doctrine." It was an ingeniously laid trap. But the astute preacher was never caught napping. "My lord," was his ready reply, "we are not permitted to read Luther's books here, therefore it were a vain thing for me to refute his doctrine, not being permitted to know what he holdeth. I have preached this day no man's doctrine, but only the doctrine of the word of God. And if Luther do none other than I have done, there needeth no confutation of his doctrine. When I understand that he doth teach against Scripture, I shall be ready with all my heart to confound his doctrines as much as lieth in me." This was a shrewd, cautious answer, yet sufficiently outspoken to rouse the ire of the proud dignitary. "Well, well," he petulantly said, "I perceive, Mr. Lattimer, that you smell of the pan; you will repent this gear one day." Forthwith he issued an inhibition against Lattimer's preaching in his diocese.

Through the imprudence of Dr. Barnes, Lattimer was summoned to London to answer charges of heretical teaching before the august Wolsey. When the Reformer stood before his Eminence, several things conspired in his favour. "You are of good years," quoth the cardinal, "nor no babe (according to our reckoning, at that time forty-one), but one that should wisely and soberly use yourself in your doings, and yet it is reported to me that you are infected with this new and fantastical doctrine of Luther, and that you do harm with the light heads with your doctrine." "Your Grace is misinformed;" said Lattimer, "for I have studied in my time ancient doctors and school doctors." Turning to his chaplain he said, "Try Mr. Lattimer in some questions in Duns." Lattimer had to help them in asking their own question, and then gave them a ripe and ready answer, which delighted Wolsey, whereupon he said, "What mean you, my masters, to bring such a man before me? I had thought that he had been some light-headed fellow. I pray thee, Lattimer, tell me the cause why the Bishop of Ely and others doth mislike thy preaching." Then Lattimer rehearsed the whole matter, and gave the substance of the sermon Bishop West had heard; after other examination, he said to Lattimer, "If the Bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine as you have here repeated, you shall have my licence, and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will." So Lattimer returns to Cambridge, and in the pulpits reads the cardinal's licence, which protected him from all episcopal interference, to the joy of all reformers and to the confusion and mortification of all enemies of progress.

The next few years were employed in preaching the great truths of religion, and exposing, with caustic wit and powerful arguments, the errors, superstition, and corruption he saw around him. His name was becoming a tower of strength to the friends of the Reformation. He was often insolently and vilely treated, but with the people and country gentry he was immensely popular. Sir J. Cheeke's quaint method of expression would be true of many thousands: "I have an ear for most preachers, but Master Lattimer wins my heart." All this time, despite Bishop Tunstal's vigilant eye and rancorous opposition, Tyndale's New Testament was imported in great numbers, was widely circulated and eagerly read; and the episcopal hatred and ignorance of the laws of political economy in burning all that could be purchased only led to a much larger demand, which was met by a larger supply, and the English market was soon flooded with the New Testament.

Lattimer's famous card sermons filled Cambridge and even London with their fame. It was the custom "to celebrate Christmas by playing at cards," so he proposed to explain to his hearers how they might play with Christ's cards so as to be winners and not losers. He took verses from the Sermon on the Mount, and

gave expositions of each. From verses 21 and 22 Matt. v., he went on to show how, not only did Christ's rule condemn the use of carnal weapons, but reached to angry words and looks. When thoughts and feelings of anger rose up in our breasts, we should take up this card with Christ's rule and lay it on our hearts; we shall then have won the game. And so in strains really eloquent and evangelical he went through the teaching of our Lord. It was felt by his opponents that he had made a great hit by these homely illustrations, powerful appeals, and clear expositions of Scripture. So they saw that something must be done to arrest the spread of the contagion of heresy. The work of publicly opposing and exposing Lattimer was entrusted to Dr. Buckenham, the Prior of the Dominicans. Lattimer had taught them the game of "Christmas cards," he proposed to teach them how to cast the "Christmas dice" to Lattimer's confusion. His system was, the *quartre* of the game was four Fathers, the *cinque* was five passages of the New Testament, against using the Scripture in the vernacular. He went on to show that untaught men would read to their own ruin. When the ploughman readeth, was his serious contention—"No man putteth his hand to the plough," &c., he will cease from his plough, and then where will be sowing and harvest? When a simple man reads—"If thine eye offend thee pluck it out," &c., incontent, he will pluck out his eyes and the realm will be filled with blind and maimed men. And when the baker readeth—"a *little* leaven leaveneth the whole lump," he will be too sparing of the leaven to the great injury of our health. These puerilities were disposed by one of Lattimer's ready strokes of broad humour. He showed that all languages have metaphors, but especially Oriental languages. "As for example, when a painter paints a fox for a preaching friar in his cowl (and here he looked at the cowled prior), none is so mad as to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to point out to us what hypocrisy, craft, dissimulations, lie hid in those friars' cowls, telling us thereby to beware of them." Universal laughter was turned upon the "preaching dicer" by this trenchant sarcasm.

On the question of the king's divorce, which became the question of questions to this nation, Lattimer held decided views that the king's marriage was invalid, because it was incestuous. But to disolve the marriage a Papal dispensation was required. Here arose the difficulty to his Holiness if the sanction was given, the Emperor Charles V., the nephew of Catherine the queen, would be mortally offended; and if withheld, Henry and the people of England threatened to break with Rome. This is not the place to trace the six years negotiations which followed on this vexed subject. Thomas Cranmer rose into royal favour by

asking "Why not submit the question to the universities of Europe?" Henry, with more vulgar bluntness than kingly politeness, said, when the proposal was reported to him, "Cranmer has the right sow by the ear." Most of the foreign universities replied favourably on the question, though the less said upon the means employed to obtain this finding the better. Oxford was not so easily manipulated, but Cambridge was won by Lattimer and others. Sir W. Butts, the king's physician, seeing Lattimer's zeal, eloquence, and learning, reported him to the king, which led to his being summoned to preach at Court, with king, queen, and hosts of courtiers before him. His first sermon was no smooth collection of common-places, tricked out with rhetorical art, but a plain, honest, exposition of Christian truth and duty, not omitting the duty of kings to their subjects; for Hugh Lattimer was one of those noble, manly spirits, that scorn to fawn before mere rank and splendour. He was the same man before monarch as before peasants. These noble qualities pleased the king, and touched the heart of Anne Boleyn.

Henry at this period was in one of his good moods, and Lattimer seized the opportunity to write a letter, one of the noblest on record, to his Majesty in favour of the free circulation of the Bible. He reminds the king of his awful responsibilities in keeping the bread of life from the people; and of his unfulfilled promise to procure a translation for the use of the common people. Gladly should the whole of this earnest and eloquent appeal be given, did not space forbid. The concluding paragraph only is transcribed: "Wherefore remember yourself; have pity upon your own soul; and think that the day is ever at hand when you shall give an account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the which day, your grace may stand steadfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your *quietus est* sealed with the blood of your Saviour, Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to Him who suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to His Father for grace for us continually; to whom be all honour and praise for ever! Amen."

Never was this man of imperious will, violent temper, and unrestrained passions, more honestly dealt with, and never were arguments more forcible, and sentiments more lofty. Froude says truly that "it is an address of unexampled grandeur."

Lattimer soon wearied of Court life; his weakly constitution, his unsophisticated nature, his simple tastes and plain living, ill-assorted with the luxurious and formal living at Henry's Court. We do not say that he sighed with the bard "for a lodge in some vast wilderness," or "some boundless contiguity of shade," whatever that may be. But he resolved to get away from Court

intrigues to some country living, so that his appointment to the rectory of West Kington, Wilts, near Bristol, agreed well with his desires. Here for awhile he rested his over-strained mind and his over-exerted body. This season of quiet was but brief, for he soon commenced his preaching operations, not confining his ministry to his "own little bishoprick" but entering any pulpit that might be opened to him. In the old city of Bristol, at that time the second city of the kingdom, he became immensely popular, filling the city with the power of his name. His enemies set up their best preacher to preach Lattimer down. One Hubbardin, the great clerical buffoon of the day, whose oratory consisted in vituperative ravings and frantic gesticulations, was the champion of orthodoxy. So the controversy waxed warm, for Lattimer attacked Popish superstitions with an unsparing hand. One Dr. Powel, preaching against Lattimer, said that pilgrimage could be defended from our Lord's promise of a hundred fold to all who forsake house and brethren for Christ's sake. "Whosoever goeth upon a pilgrimage to John Thorne, to our Lady of Walsingham, to St. Ann in the Wood, has left his father and mother for the time he was from home, therefore our Lord's promise applies to him; and let him put what he may into the box at the shrine, he shall receive a hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come, everlasting life!"

Unfortunately Lattimer's Bristol sermons have not been preserved; but his replies to Powel and Hubbardin have been kept. Reasoning more pungent, appeals more powerful, and humour more caustic we have never met with. Here is the final paragraph from his reply to Dr. Powel: "Provision for purgatory hath brought thousands to hell; debts have not been paid; restitution of evil-gotten goods and lands hath not been made; Christian people are neglected and suffered to perish; lost wills are broken; God's ordinances set aside. Thus we have gone to hell with masses, dirges, and ringing of many a bell. And unless we do what God hath commanded us, though our soul-priests sing till they be bleer-eyed, say masses till they have worn their tongues to the very stumps, neither their singings nor their sayings shall bring us out of hell, whither we shall go for contemning God's forbiddings. Purgatory's iniquity hath replenished hell, and left heaven almost empty. If purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten by setting aside restitution, and robbing Christ, it would be but a poor purgatory; so poor that it should not be able to feed so fat, and trick up so many idle lubbers." These were bold and indignant words, but fully justified in a city so long pillaged by hoards of corrupt ecclesiastics.

Let it not be supposed that Lattimer was all this time unmolested by his ruthless foes. Stokesley, Bishop of London, one

of the astutest and fiercest partizans of Popery in all England, summoned Lattimer to London to answer for his heresy. The examination came to nothing, for the wily prelate saw that the Commons were speaking out against the tyranny of the clergy; the divorce question, too, was dragging its length slowly along, and making the relations of the Pope and the king more and more delicate, and from many parts of the country there were heard mutterings against Papal insolence, and demands to be freed from the Pope's control; beside which, Anne Boleyn and Cromwell were yet in power. But Stokesley knew how to proceed warily. Fierce and bitter as he was, he never tripped through rashness. So he handed Lattimer over to Convocation, and articles of heresy were exhibited against him. Fifteen questions were submitted to him for his assent. Thrice did he point blank refuse to sign them. He was declared contumacious, and ordered into custody. Ten days after he appeared at the bar of Convocation. He was in great mental distress; to subscribe would be to lend his sanction to Church forms and rites that he could not approve of. To refuse was to expose his life to danger without adequate reason. Butts, the king's physician, who had introduced him to the king, and Cromwell, the king's chief minister, mediated, and got his enemies to moderate their articles of subscription, and Lattimer to moderate his opinions. He then humbly apologised to Convocation, and was allowed to depart to his Wiltshire rectory. This is the one dark page in Lattimer's history. We do not conceal its gravity, nor extenuate his weakness. Taking all into account, however, a sober judgment inclines us to approve of Lattimer's partial retraction. To have persisted would have been against his best friends, and his death then would have been open to the imputation of rashness, if not foolhardihood. To stand right with the king Lattimer desired to be allowed to preach before his Majesty. Cranmer, in conveying the approbation of Henry to this proposal, gives him some sage counsel to avoid controversy, and not to preach longer than *an hour and a half*. While he was here a great national crisis arrived. Henry, annoyed by the vexatious delays and overweening spirit of Roman authorities, resolved, with the concurrence of Parliament and Convocation, to destroy the supremacy of the Pope in the kingdom. This was done, and the unconstitutional foreign usurpation of many ages was swept away. In this grand *coup* of national emancipation Cromwell, the author of the step, found no co-operator equal to Lattimer. He was a man of real power and ability, whose zeal and eloquence could sway the mind of the nation, and whose services would be of essential value in supporting the policy on which the king and his minister had embarked. This led to his promotion to the episcopal bench an-

the House of Lords; not that he had been fishing for honour; he was too honest to be the tool of any man, and he was too outspoken to be a mere political partizan. When he was in his fiftieth year he was elevated to the bishopric of Worcester. This, however, was neither coveted nor desired; his foes have never credited him with the infirmity of ambition; but he accepted the position because it would enable him to carry on his combat with Papal superstition on more advantageous grounds, and with brightening prospects of success.

But he was the same man in the bishop's palace as in the village rectory. The mitre did not extinguish his zeal. He assumed no lordly airs and had no splendid retinue; as before, he was free, humble, humorous, witty, eloquent. But all his skill and energy were tasked to their utmost in reforming the abominable abuses in his diocese. He found the Sabbath a day of rough and often brutal sports, and the people in the lowest degradation; and no man cared for their souls. Nothing could exceed his zeal and prudence in reforming all these abuses, as far as he could. He exerted himself to enforce Cromwell's "Injunctions," that the people were not to be encouraged to undertake pilgrimages, but to provide for their families; that money should not be devoted to sacred images, but to the poor; fathers and masters were to teach their children and servants to read; idleness was to be discouraged, and schools were to be established.

It was at this time that he preached his celebrated Convocation sermon. Before him sat all the dignitaries of the Church in their robes, his old enemy Stokesley amongst them. The theme selected was the unjust steward—an ominous subject. It is not too much to say that a more eloquent, more forcible, or bolder sermon was never preached to that conclave. His eloquence was that of an old Hebrew prophet. The great German Reformer never preached with greater power and plainness. He rose to the very height of the occasion. His sermon was, of course, in Latin, which magnificent tongue he used as freely as his native speech, but it was soon put into an English dress and circulated over the land, and it stirred the nation's heart to its very depths. We despair of being able adequately to convey an idea of this grand performance, and therefore only mention that he argued the *pro* and *con* of the following points with marvellous power and pungency:—That a man could live all his life in sin, and after death be saved by money and masses; that the priests should not be allowed to marry; that the people should commune at the Lord's table only in one kind; that images ought to be worshipped; that to eat meat in Lent was sin; that priestly confession was good and necessary. He wound up his sermon by arguing that praying to saints was as vain as throwing a stone against the wall, and that holy water, holy bread, and holy candles were all delusions.

After this he was many times in London, preaching and co-operating with Cranmer in carrying on the Reformation. They discovered several popish plots, which disclosed the duplicity of papal dignitaries, and their bitter determination to subvert those who held the reins of power, and even the throne itself. All this while Lattimer was growing in public esteem, as well as winning favour at the Court. His university also made him one of its doctors in divinity.

In the August of 1537 he had the supreme satisfaction of seeing the whole Bible translated into the English tongue. It was not many years before that a heap of Bibles had been burnt at St. Paul's Cross, and even now the laws which made it penal to read the Bible were unrepealed, but they were practically repealed since the downfall of papal domination. Tyndale's last prayer at the stake had been, "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England." And here was the answer in the king's order that the Bible be read throughout the realm by all classes of the people.

But a reactionary mood came over the spirit of this wayward and imperious monarch, for in the fourth year of Lattimer's episcopate "The Bloody Statute," or, as it was denominated, "The Whip with Six Cords," was enacted, and enforced by a bill of pains and penalties. Lattimer had nothing personally to fear, but the passing of such a retrograde measure grieved him profoundly, and he knew that he would, in his episcopal capacity, have to administer this disgraceful law, so no alternative was left him, as an honest man, but to resign his bishopric. This act has no air of romantic self-sacrifice; it was a simple question of prudence. He fled the storm instead of bending before it. His absence from the episcopal bench was an irreparable loss; it silenced for eight years the voice of the first preacher in England. When he went to the robing chamber and threw off the lawn and gear of his office, he skipped the floor in joy at being rid of what to him was a heavy burden. He lived in retirement with his friends, for he had accumulated no fortune; he had spent the large revenues of his see in aiding the cause of religion and in hospitality to the poor. Upon Edward's accession to the throne, he would have replaced the mitre upon Lattimer's head, but Lattimer's ambition was not to be a princely bishop and peer of the realm, but to be permitted to preach the gospel; the pulpit was his throne. In the winter of 1548 St. Paul's Churchyard was crowded by people attracted by the announcement that Lattimer would deliver a course of sermons under an awning. He was compelled to preach out of doors, for the cathedral would not hold the crowds who came to hear their favourite preacher. One of his famous sermons, the "Plough" sermon, was directed against non-resident and non-preaching prelates. This is how he held his

audiences in thrall: "I ask you a strange question. Who is the most diligent bishop in all England; that passes all the rest in doing his office? I know him well. You are listening that I should name him. I will tell you; it is the devil! He is a most diligent preacher; he is never out of his diocese; never from his cure; he keeps residence at all times. In all the realm there is none so diligent as he; he is ever at his plough: no lording nor loitering can hinder him. And his office is to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry, and to teach all kinds of Popery. He is ready to set forth his plough; to devise as many ways as he can to deface God's image. Where the devil hath his plough going, there away with books and up with candles; away with Bibles and up with beads; away with the light of the Gospel and up with candle-light, yea, at noon-day. That he may prevail, up with superstition and idolatry, censing, painting of images, palms, ashes, holy water, and all services of men's inventing; as though man could invent a better way of honouring God than God hath Himself appointed; down with Christ's cross and up with purgatory pick-purse; away with clothing the naked, helping the poor and impotent; up with decking of images and gay garnishing of stocks and stones; up with man's traditions and down with God's word. Let all be done in Latin; there must be nothing but Latin; God's word may in nowise be translated into English.

"Oh! that our preachers would be as willing to sow the corn of good doctrine as Satan is to sow cockle and darnel! And this is the devilish ploughing which will have all in Latin, and thus letteth (hindereth) the fruitful edification. There never was such a preacher in England as he is. Every day and every hour he is sowing cockle and darnel, that he may bring out of estimation and room the Lord's Supper and Christ's cross! This is his mark to evacuate the cross of Christ. For whereas Christ, according to the serpent, was lifted up in the wilderness, so would He Himself be exalted, and thereby as many as trusted in Him would be saved; but the devil would have none of that; the Romanists would have us saved by a daily oblation propitiatory, by a sacrifice expiatory or remissory. But Christ is a continual sacrifice in effect, fruit, operation, and virtue; as though He had from the beginning of the world—continually should, to the end, hang still on the cross, and he is as fresh hanging on the cross now, to them that trust in Him, as he was fifteen centuries ago. Then let us trust in His only death, and look to none other sacrifice propitiatory, than the same blood, the lively sacrifice; not the dry sacrifice, but the bloody sacrifice. Our redemption is done; it cannot be better. Christ hath done the thing so well that it cannot be amended. But the devil, by the help of that Italian bishop yonder, his chaplain, hath

laboured by all means that he might to frustrate the death of Christ and the merits of His passion. And they have devised for that purpose other vain things, to make us believe in his pardons, as to have remission of sins for praying on hallowed beads; for drinking of the bakehouse bowl, as a Canon of Waltham Abbey once told me, that whensoever they put their loaves of bread into the oven, as many as drank of the pardon-bowl should have pardon for drinking of it. A mad thing to give pardon to a bowl! to Pope Alexander's holy water, to hallowed bells, palms, candles, ashes, and what not! And of these things every one hath taken away some part of Christ's sanctification; every one hath robbed some part of Christ's passion and cross, and hath mingled Christ's death. Woe worth thee, O devil, that hath prevailed to evacuate Christ's cross."

No dry logic or correct exegesis could have moved the people as these forcible and picturesque utterances did. Such sermons could not be like water spilt upon the ground; they have left a plain broad mark on the history of England. Only one other instance of his style can be given. This was one of his many happy retorts. Its occasion was in this wise:—An insurrection was threatened, and the papal party gave it out that it was owing to the preaching of Lattimer and the spread of his opinions. He replied by what logicians call the sophism of "*non causa pro causa.*" "It is we preachers that trouble England. Here was preaching all last year against covetousness in Lent, and the next summer followed rebellion; *ergo*, preaching against covetousness was the cause of rebellion! A goodly argument! Here, now, I remember an anecdote of Master More's (Sir T. More), which he bringeth in a book that he wrote against Bilney; and here, by the way, I will tell you a pleasant story. Master More was once in commission into Kent, to find out, if it might be, what was the cause of Goodwin Sands, and the shelf that stopped up the Sandwich Haven. Thither came Master More, and called up the country before him, such as were thought to be men of experience, and men that could best certify to him of the object he sought. Among others came before him an old man, with a white head, one that was thought to be little less than a hundred years old. Master More thought it expedient to hear this old man, so he called him and said, 'Father, tell me, if you can, what is the cause of this great rising of the sands and shelves, here about this haven, which stop it up, so that no ships can arrive? You are the oldest man that I can espy in all this company, so that if any man can tell any cause of it, you, it is likely, can say most in it.' 'Yea forsooth, good master,' quoth this old man, 'for I am well nigh a hundred years old, and no man in this company is any thing near unto my age.' 'Well, then,' quoth Master More, 'how say you in

this matter? What think you are the causes of these shelves and flats that stop the haven?' 'Forsooth, sir,' quoth the old man, 'I am an old man. I think that Tenterden Steeple is the cause of Goodwin Sands. For I am an old man, sir, and I may remember when there was no steeple there at all. And before that Tenterden Steeple was building there was no speaking of sands or flats at all there, and therefore I think that Tenterden Steeple stopped the haven, and is the cause of the flats and sandbanks.' Thus this old man; and even so to my purpose is the preaching of God's word the cause of rebellion, as Tenterden Steeple was the cause of the decaying of Sandwich haven."

Thus, with all variety of method, by argument, by sarcasm, by withering rebuke, by pungent and sparkling wit, did he expose the superstition of popery and with unsurpassed power proclaim the everlasting gospel. He preached, not only Sunday by Sunday, but day by day; not only in London, but through the land. If England had a prophet, it was Hugh Lattimer. He reproved sin in high places, exposed the maladministration of justice by judges and magistrates; indeed, he was regarded as the censor of morals.

Such was his manner of life during the reign of Edward VI. But when the weak, sincere, but bigotted Mary took the helm of the nation, the tables were turned. The bloody statutes were all revived, popish ceremonies were set up, England was restored to Rome, and a bitter persecution commenced, which sent more than three hundred of the best men and women in England to the stake. Lattimer was in Worcestershire when the summons reached him to appear and answer for his heresy. He might have escaped; his natural feelings prompted him to fly, yet this was the time to play the man. He knew that his death was pre-determined. The wily, implacable Gardiner had said that now he would lay the axe to the root of the tree of heresy, referring to the leaders of the Reformation. And the fiery Bonner had said, "God do so to me, and more, if I leave a heretic in all England." For two years Lattimer was a close prisoner, first at London and then at Oxford. Through the cold winter he had no fire, and his cells were fœtid and damp. He had many interviews with his dear fellow-prisoners, Cranmer and Ridley. They studied the New Testament closely, profoundly. Lattimer seems, by his noble bearing, to have infused courage into the minds of his brethren. Ridley says, writing from prison, "The Lord hath placed old Father Lattimer to be his standard-bearer in this age and country." They had many vexatious trials and examinations. After being baited and annoyed at one of these, he made this grand avowal: "Thus have I answered your conclusions, as I will stand unto, with God's help, even unto the fire; and I can declare unto God that I die for the truth. To yield to you and deny the word of God, I

would rather die than live. I will obey God more than man, and so I embrace the stake!" Foxe has preserved a picture of the old confessor standing before men who were bent upon his life. No Dutch picture or photograph could be more distinctly outlined. We see the old man, of nearly eighty years—never perhaps very handsome, though not the hideous-looking man with horse's teeth, as his foes say—standing with his hat in his hand, a kerchief on his head, on the top of which were several night caps, crowned by a large drover's cap, buttoned beneath the chin. He had his accustomed threadbare Bristol frieze gown, girded by a penny leather girdle, from which depended, by a leather tie, his Testament, while his spectacles, without case, depended from his neck. Surely this was no courtier clothed in soft raiment, but an unkempt prophet—an Elijah or a Baptist.

At length, on a bright October morning, 1555, this great preacher went, with his pious, polished, and learned friend, Bishop Ridley, to the death of a martyr. At the stake, Ridley distributed his furred gown, his velvet tippet and cap, his corner cap and slippers to those about. Lattimer had nothing to give; there he stood with his old frieze frock, his drover's cap and kerchief. When stripped for execution he had on a new long shroud. They embraced each other at the stake, and knelt and prayed, and then kissed the stake. There stood this withered old man, quite erect and perfectly happy, a bag of powder was tied around his neck. Just as the fire to consume them was lighted, Lattimer addressed his fellow-sufferer in the memorable words: "Be of good comfort, Brother Ridley, and play the man; we shall light such a candle in England to-day as will never go out." As the flames leaped up he cried vehemently, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul." He seemed to embrace the flames. Having stroked his face, he bathed his hands in the fire and quickly died. Byestanders remarked, as Lattimer's remains lay among the embers, that a great quantity of blood issued from his heart; and they remembered his words—that his blood would be shed in defence of God's word.

The bill paid by Queen Mary for lighting that fire was £1 5s. 2d., one of the costliest items of outlay during her unhappy reign; this martyrdom was one of the most effectual blows to overthrow Romanism in this land. The candle lit that day never has been put out. Neither Papal nor Spanish power could extinguish it, and the blood of the martyrs again became the seed of the Church.

Little need be said of Lattimer's character. He was eminently shrewd, he never sunk the man in the theological polemic; no stain has ever been breathed upon his integrity; he was never a diplomatist nor a political tool. The things said against him by his foes are of the pettiest description. In his discourses there

was a wonderful vitality and force, not of logic, but of sense and feeling. He sometimes sinks to coarseness, yet he very often rises to the height of indignant, burning eloquence. He did not sum up in himself the whole phase of the English Reformation, but in so far as it was a return to New Testament principles and practices Lattimer was its greatest leader and exponent. Christianity did not come to him as the revival of apostolic doctrine, as it did to Luther, nor in a grand scientific system, as it did to Calvin; it came to him as a new life, he awoke from a dream of superstition to a new and nobler existence. He never cared much for controversy, he believed in teaching. Dogmas did not trouble him much, he apprehended truth in the concrete. He was not eloquent of set purpose, or to display his marvellous powers, the fire burned as he spoke; he did not use his powers to their utmost, there was more behind than was seen. His humour was one of his constant moods; most unexpected turns it takes, sometimes broad and explosive in its effects, but mostly delicate and insinuating, and without the least tincture of ill-nature. Thus he lived a bright and burning light in this land in an age of darkness, and while we continue a Bible-loving nation we may admire other Reformers but we shall love him best, "as the true apostle of the English nation," "as the one man in England absolutely straightforward, upright, and untainted with base alloy . . . . . He was the greatest man of his day."* He lived grandly and died heroically—as Wordsworth's sonnet sings:—

How fast the Marian death-list is unrolled!
See Lattimer and Ridley, in the might
Of faith, stand coupled for a common flight!
One like those prophets whom God sent of old
Transfigured, from this kindling hath foretold
A torch of inextinguishable light;
The other gains a confidence as bold;
And thus they foil their enemy's despite.
The penal instruments, the shows of crime,
Are glorified, while this once mitre'd pair
Of saintly Friends, the murtherer's chain partake,
Corded, and burning at the social stake!
Earth never witnessed object more sublime
In constancy, in fellowship more fair!

E. H.

Art. II.—CHURCH ESTABLISHMENTS.

DISSENTING CHRISTIANS and Mr. Ryle, with his fellow Reformers, are not the only persons giving attention at the present time to the state and prospects of the Anglican Church.

* Froude.

Others, and even bishops, are reported to be "talking sense" on the subject. The secular and religious press teems with discussions on it. In the month of August, 1871, two English bishops—Dr. Fraser, of Manchester, and Dr. Ellicott, of Gloucester—dropped some unusual utterances when preaching, the former at Haltwhistle church re-opening, the latter at the opening of the Gloucester Cathedral. The Bishop of Manchester, referring to the huckstering ways of selling livings, and auctioneers' advertisements connected with the shameful traffic, observed, that, in virtue of his bishopric, he was patron of the Haltwhistle living. Now, they would doubtless all have thought it strange conduct, or an unseemly thing, if his predecessor had sold the patronage of the living for three or four thousand pounds, and then paid the money to his own account at the bank. They would soon have said it was a bad thing, and a scandal on the bishop. Why? Because the bishop, the patron of the living, held a high and solemn trust; but, if a lay patron were to sell a living, nothing whatever would be thought of it. Everybody must be more or less acquainted with those advertisements which appeared from time to time in the London and local newspapers. After reading one as a specimen, where the incumbent's age was 74, and the living was in the neighbourhood of good shooting, and good fishing, and also several good packs of hounds, Dr. Fraser said there was no scandal in the Church of England that alienated more, and kept alienated, the great Nonconformist bodies from them—bodies whom it should be the desire of every churchman to bring back to the fold—than the sight of such things as he had mentioned. The bishop then referred to the failure of the Bill which had been introduced into the House of Lords to prevent the sale of next presentations, and said he did not know why it had been lost, but hoped it would be one of the first Bills carried next Session, for the present practice generated all kinds of technical evasions which were most demoralising. He said, the whole traffic in church patronage was an evil; and yet, strange to say, amongst church dignitaries have been found its strongest supporters. Who, even among Christian churchmen, can hesitate a moment in choosing between such a state of things, and the most thorough disestablishment and disendowment?

The question of Cathedral Reform was the principal subject of the remarks of Bishop Ellicott, when preaching at the re-opening of Gloucester Cathedral, on Sunday, August 20th, 1871. The bishop alluded to the theories abroad about the disestablishment of the Church of England, and said that he had no fear of such a result if only the Church would rouse herself to discharge her duties properly to the people of the land. The cathedral institutions formed part of her machinery; and in order that they might

be able to pass safely through the ordeal before them, reforms must be introduced, and they must be made to fulfil their true uses and purposes. They must become the centre of real life and energy. Let every cathedral more and more strive to free itself from its half-inherited, half-adopted collegiate system, from its closes and seclusions, and make itself, not only the mother church of the city, but the parish church of the diocese; and then they would emerge from the trial stronger and more consolidated than before. He was happy to think that this was the aim now in view; and in support of this statement pointed to the crowded services in St. Paul's and Westminster.

It is well known that recent legislation has mostly gone in the direction of free churchism. The notable disestablishment of the Irish Church gave a shock to the strongholds and privileged fastnesses in which establishmentarians have trusted, and prided themselves for many generations. They have long been accustomed to consider their position impregnable, not because of right, but because of prescription and power. The advancing waves of liberty, truth, and righteousness, however, threaten every bulwark of inequitable privilege, and every fortress of legalised wrong. That which was done by sheer prerogative—"the boast of tyrants"—by haughty and lustful sovereigns will be undone by the united will of the people, led to battle and victory by patriotic Nonconformists. Mr. Miall has dared to throw the gauntlet in the British House of Commons, and fearlessly propose the disestablishment of the Anglican Church. An ominous minority of ninety-six members of that illustrious House recorded their votes in favour of the motion.* Others, who absented themselves from the House to escape voting for or against, have since been called to account by their constituents for not supporting Mr. Miall. Thus the tide has set in; even Canute cannot turn it back. Such a commencement is neither to be ignored nor contemned. The present Government, by its disestablishment of the Irish Church, has affirmed and applied the principle of free churchism; and it cannot long resist the demand for a similar measure to be applied to the English Church as by law established without the greatest logical inconsistency and peril to himself; especially, as Mr. Gladstone asserted on that occasion, the political power of Nonconformists; and though interrupted by cries of "No, no!" from his own party in office, asserted and repeated that it was in the power of Nonconformists to break up the Government, and shatter the general fabric of the Liberal party. Dr. Ball, the great defender of the Irish Church during its disestablishment debate, declared also that it was impossible for a Government that had disestablished the Church in Ireland to advocate the retention

* 101 voted against it besides the Government.—*John Bull*, May 15, 1871.

of a State Church in England. No institution, defended as the Church of England had been by this Government, could hope to stand. Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary, delivered what was regarded as the answer of the Government, in a feeble and hesitant manner, like a school-boy who had imperfectly learned his lesson. The official answer was to the effect that considerations of policy and time deterred the Government from undertaking a question of such importance and magnitude; and that "no Government would be justified in touching a subject of such importance without some assurance of success." He admitted that he was unable to defend the union of the Church with the State by any abstract arguments. The most elegant and able plea for the continuance of the present state of things was given by Sir Roundell Palmer, a Liberal. It was not based on any principle of abstract right, but upon practical and political considerations. These considerations, on such a question and in such a case, do not commend themselves to us; but, admitting for the moment their propriety, what is their power?

Our ground is now narrowed to two questions of great importance, simple enough in themselves, but very much complicated and mystified in their intricate relations; they are these:—What part ought policy and expediency to have in Church questions, and are religious establishments, *i.e.*, State Churches, scripturally defensible? We will briefly discuss these questions, and hear what the State Church advocates have to say on its behalf. At first sight, or hearing, the words "policy" and "expediency" appear extremely unsuited to a religious question; and still more so as connected with the Christian religion, given to the world by Christ and His apostles. But it might seem harsh and uncourteous, if not unfair, to exclude them from the discussion, before hearing the testimony of those who make all their capital out of policy and expediency. Our questions would rather be, are State Churches right? Are they *more beneficial* and *more useful* than voluntary Christian communities? Has the State, as such, a right to enforce *any* religion? Is it obligated, as a State, to uphold even Christianity itself? To all these questions, we give an emphatic negative.

But, to turn to the two former questions. *First*: What place ought policy and expediency to have in Church questions? The difficulty of this question is exceeded only by its gravity and importance. We have noticed the following reasons put forth by State Church advocates, in favour of the expediency and utility of religious establishments. We are told: State Churches are needful; they secure order and hold the religious life of a nation in tranquility; they attract men of talent and education; they afford asylum to the persecuted of other sects;* and protect the

* State Churches have always been persecutors, never asylums.

interests of truth. These highly applauded reasons are exceedingly ideal and visionary. If we look at them but a moment we shall see in each instance a thin veil of sophistry covering the nakedness of these much paraded reasons for the union of Church and State. Who, with America and our colonies before him; with the dissenting Churches of England, Scotland, and Wales in sight; with the new-disestablished Irish Church close at hand, could ever be so purblind as to affirm that the connection of the State with the Church is needful? Let the English pro-State-Churchman behold the mission-field occupied by his own Church in other lands this very hour; let him look back to the days of the apostles, and apostolic fathers, and then ask whether such connection be vital and necessary. We all know what answer alone can be given. We speak emphatically, but advisedly, when we affirm that *true* religion, sound vital Christianity, has always prospered better when untrammelled by "State patronage and control." As to religious order and calmness, what boots it when it is the order and calmness of death! State Churches are tied down hand and foot, every limb is strapped, every mouth is gagged, and then State Church advocates boast of quiet, of orderliness and tranquility. But, even this boast is empty, false, and vain. How happens it that dissent and nonconformity ever crept into the preserves of the Churches established by law in this and other lands? Where has every movement of religious life and action been engendered? In what soil have the seeds of free churchism first taken root and germinated? Where have the first blades of a new and healthful religious activity and life first appeared? Where has every great volcanic up-heaval of the religious passions first burst forth? Certainly not in dissent before it existed. It could not be in nonconformity before there were nonconformists. The answer is plain. In the placid bosom of State Church these great changes and progressive moments have first struggled into life. And, even now, despite the strapping down and tightlacing of modern State Churches, do they exhibit the sunny ideal of order and tranquility? Are they now, themselves, the calm and orderly institutions dreamed of by Paley and other State Church advocates since his days? Nothing of the kind. The fact is far too notorious, that State Churches are full of tumults and schisms *in themselves;* and, though left alone by Nonconformists, explosions are even now transpiring. But, granting the truth of what is claimed, one may ask, "Is this boasted calmness right, beneficial, worth what it costs, worth having at all? We emphatically answer, no. It is the most baneful soporific possible to the Church of Christ. It is the deadliest opiate the Christian religion can receive. The very tranquility so prized by State Church advocates is that which

destroys the religious life of churches and nations. It breeds corruption, stupor, rottenness, and death. This is the combined testimony of all Church history from the days of Constantine till the present hour. But, we are told, State Churches attract and secure the services of men of greater parts, capacity, talents, and learning. Be it observed, we will not, for we cannot decry a learned ministry. As a practical question, however, we may ask: What good of a learned ministry if it be inefficient? We have heard and seen more than enough of learned nobodies occupying the pulpit. These many generations the English Church has had in her absolute keeping the keys of our national universities; and so far as *true* preachers are concerned, what are the results? The Anglican clergyman is often, and not without reason, regarded as an educated simpleton.* Undoubtedly there *are* exceptions,—there need be. But, allowing all that can be said in this behalf, there are large numbers who cannot make sermons fit to be heard, and are at the mercy of the "Camden Society" for their weekly supplies! In addition to all this, where are the great preachers of this age? Are they in the preserves of a well-watched State Church? Where do the Parkers, the Thomases, the Guthries, the Punshons, the Dales, the Spurgeons, the Parsons, the Talmages, and above all, the Beechers, live? In a few instances the State Church can boast of great preachers, and everybody wonders when one grows out of its fattened soil; but, generally, State Churches are barren of great and original preaching power. The prophet's words too generally and too truly apply to State Church clergymen: "His watchmen are blind; they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber. Yea, they are greedy dogs which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand: they all look to their own way, everyone for his gain, from his quarter. Come ye, say they, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; and to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant." (Isa. lvi. 10.)

But we are told that a State Church affords asylum to the persecuted of other sects. Now if State Churchism be right, dissent is wrong; and yet we have seen that State Churchism produces dissent, by breeding schisms in its own bosom, which it cannot allay! It makes persecutors, then affords asylum to those who are persecuted! The truth is, this objection is sentimental and idealistic, worthy of its foster parent—Benjamin Disraeli. True, here and there, and now and then, a Dissenter who loses all vital religious life, goes off to the State Church for a religious anodyne; but, asylum from persecution is a mere fiction. Let the sophists produce their cases and bring forth their strong reasons, then we

* The press gives abundant evidence of this in every parliamentary recess.

can discuss the question more fully. It is said, however, that State Churches preserve and protect the truth. If this be so, alas for truth! In this case he may well pray, "save me from my friends." "Fellow helpers to the truth" have seldom abounded in State Churches, even when professedly Christian. They did not abound in the days of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Jesus Christ, the Apostles, and the true Fathers of the Christian Church. While the Church was unconnected with the State, it had Apologists, Confessors, and Martyrs. Thanks to the iniquitous union of the Church with the State, for the darkness, stupor, and rottenness of the Middle Ages! The inevitable tendency of this union always *was* bad, and it needs no prophet's inspiration to see that it always *will* be bad. The alliance is illicit, and legitimate offspring cannot result. Modern times show that State Churchism does not protect the truth in any way comparable with free Churchism. Witness, ye Reformers of Europe, ye Covenanters of Scotland, ye Puritans, Friends, and Methodists of England, America, our Colonies, and all Missionaries. Talk of learning and protection of the truth! In America, we see overwhelming evidence; aye, ocular demonstration, that these are vastly better secured in a young nation even, without "State patronage and control," than in our own Old England, with these advantages—so called—in operation for years.

To tell the truth, however, there are real, actual reasons for the union of State and Church. What are they? Simply these, and others more or less like them: a state church is a political engine; it gives prestige to certain privileged persons who are tools of the state; it affords a lucrative position for the younger sons of gentlemen; it affords a leisurely, pleasurable and honourable life for men of no religious earnestness. Let our readers cast their eyes over the sunny plains and hunting scenes of Lincolnshire, and other counties in the South of England, to verify what we say. Of course there are bright exceptions, but "what are they among so many?"

What, now, is the cure for all these evils? Mr. Ryle answers, Reform. He deprecates disestablishment and disendowment, believing these would ruin the Church of England. As he is a devoted and worthy minister of that Church, he calls out earnestly and loudly for Church Reform. Hear him speak: "Is the Established Church of England in danger or not? This is the broad reply I make to all who object to Church Reform, and refuse to consider it. Danger or no danger? Yes or no? That is the question. What! no inward danger, when the real presence, the Popish confessional, and candle-blessing are found rampant on one side, and the atonement, the divinity of Christ, the inspiration of Scripture, and the reality of miracles, are cooly thrown overboard on the other? What! no outward danger, when infidels, Papists, and Dissenters are hungering and thirsting after the destruction of

the Establishment, and compassing sea and land to accomplish their ends? What! no danger, when myriads of our working-classes never enter the walls of our Church, and would not raise a finger to keep her alive, while, by household suffrage, they have got all power into their hands? What! no danger, when the Irish Church has been disestablished, the Act of Union has been trampled under foot, Protestant endowments have been handed over to Papists; (*sic*) the thin end of the wedge for severing Church and State has been let in, and the statesman who did all this is still Prime Minister, with an immense majority! No danger, indeed! I can find no words to express my astonishment that men say so. But, alas! there are never wanting men who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, and who will not understand."

"The Established Church of England is in danger. There is no mistake about it. This is the one broad, sweeping reason why I advocate Church Reform. There is a 'handwriting on the wall,' flashing luridly from the other side of St. George's Channel, which needs no Daniel to interpret it. The bell has begun to toll for the funeral of the Irish Establishment. Her grave is dug, and the mourners are going about the streets. Who shall say that a coffin is not already being made for her English sister? The old Italian enemy of Protestantism has tasted blood . . . and she will never be content till she has tasted more. There is a current setting in towards the disestablishment of all national churches, and we are already in it. We are gradually drifting downwards, though many perceive it not; but those who look at the old landmarks cannot fail to see that we move. We shall soon be in the rapids. A few—a very few years—and we shall be over the falls. Some men think language of this kind dangerous and unwise. They say it hastens on the evil which we fear. I cannot agree with them. Silence about disestablishment will not prevent the movement creeping on. Talking about it will not accelerate the movement. Refusal to look at the idea of disestablishment was one of the things which shipwrecked the Irish Church. If any man thinks I am an advocate for disestablishment he is totally mistaken. I hope to fight against it to the last, as an act of enormous national folly, and a gigantic national sin. It will bring miserable spiritual destitution on rural parishes. It will probably split the Church of England into pieces. But I am quite sure that the most likely way to prevent it is to look it calmly in the face, and reform our Church betimes. The English public seems drunk with the grand idea of 'free trade' in everything, in religion as well as commerce, in churches as well as in corn. Even the Master of the Temple tells Harrow School, 'I expect and half foresee disestablishment.' Quiet, moderate men, like the Bishops of Ely and Rochester, calmly discuss its consequences. The daily press is

constantly harping on the subject. There is not a respectable insurance office in London that would insure the life of the Establishment for twenty years! And shall we sit still and refuse to set our house in order? I, for one, say God forbid! Shall we wait till we are turned out into the street, and obliged to reform ourselves in the midst of a hurricane of confusion?"

All this means, "Be good boys, and stick to your endowments." Even Churchmen in some quarters advocate disestablishment *minus* disendowment. Such are to be found among both clergy and laity of the Anglican Church; while more on the other hand call the late Dean Alford, and such as favour mere disestablishment, theorists and visionaries. Reform, in the English Church, seems to be an ungrateful and a hopeless work. The Anglican Church is an incurable heterogeneous mass of conflicting theological, ecclesiastical, political, and religious elements, which never can be united. A welding process is impossible where every shade of belief obtains and is fiercely contested for, from the rankest ritualism to the rankest rationalism on the one hand, and from the rankest hypercalvinism and destructionism to the rankest universalism on the other. Further, if the Anglican Church keep her pretensions to be *the* Church of England, and hold fast national endowments, she never can be justly freed from national control. But she is no longer the church of the nation. She is not, in truth, the "church of the majority." *Vide* Mr. Ryle's statements, and the evidence of facts. Count up her communicants! Exclude the myriads who never enter her portals, and are called "Nothingarians," by Mr. Ryle. The Nonconformist churches have more *bona fide* members and hearers than this so-called Church of England. The only alternative left is disestablishment and disendowment.

The *second* point now turns up for remark. Are religious establishments, as such, scripturally defensible? We trow not. The proof of this is notorious. Even Paley, perhaps the most able and cautious advocate of religious establishments, has declared, "A religious establishment is no part of Christianity; it is only the means of inculcating it. Amongst the Jews, the rites and offices, the order, family, and succession of the priesthood, were marked out by the authority which declared the law itself. These, therefore, were *parts* of the Jewish religion, as well as the means of transmitting it. Not so with the new institution. It cannot be proved that any form of church government was laid down in the Christian, as it had been in the Jewish scriptures, with a view of fixing a constitution for succeeding ages, and which constitution, consequently, the disciples of Christianity would everywhere, and at all times, by the very law of their religion, be obliged to adopt." Many similar statements might be quoted from the same writer. He holds to *utility* as the sole

foundation of a State Church, and avers that "Every other idea, and every other end, that have been mixed with this, as the making of the Church an engine, or even an *ally* of the State; converting it into the means of strengthening or diffusing influence; or regarding it as a support of regal, in opposition to popular forms of government, have served only to debase the institution, and to introduce into it numerous corruptions and abuses." Such is the testimony of a staunch and wealthy Churchman, the archdeacon of a wealthy cathedral, and justly regarded as one of the most talented and able writers the Church of England has produced?

But, we contend, that the union of church and state cannot be vindicated on New Testament authority. The express declarations of that book are flatly opposed to such a connection. What did Christ and His apostles teach on the subject? What attitude did the apostolic churches and the apostles occupy on the matter? What attitude does Christianity, or the gospel naturally take up, in relation to the union of church and state? We can soon find answers to all these queries. Christ and His apostles use language which no ingenuity can twist in favour of state churches. Churches imposed on people, and supported, as well as governed by the State, are essentially human institutions, and essentially "of the earth—earthy." Jesus said: "*My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence.* Pilate therefore said unto Him, Art thou a king, then? Jesus answered: Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. Pilate said unto him, What is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, *I find in Him no fault at all.*" It is clear from this passage that Christ confessed Himself a king. It is equally evident that his Kingship, thus confessed, was not political but spiritual, not earthly, but heavenly: for, in a political sense, "Whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar." Christ, could not, in his circumstances, at that time, proclaim a political kingship without speaking against Cæsar; and, even Pilate, that hateful timeserver, saw clearly enough that Christ made no pretension to a State and Church supremacy, otherwise he would not have said: "*I find in Him no fault at all,*" for a pretension to political kingship would have been a sufficient reason for Pliate at once to have delivered Christ to death as a usurper and a traitor to the Imperial Crown. This was precisely what both the Jewish rulers on the one hand, and Pilate on the other, eagerly sought, but could not find Had Christ only acted the part of

which the Jews so falsely accused him, "making himself a king," in any sense obnoxious to Cæsar, the Jews would have espoused his cause, supported his pretensions, rallied round his standard, and followed him in ardent ambition, to conquest or to death. He had also distinctly denied the connection of His Church with the State more than once before: "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and to God the things that are God's." "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." As Christ had not professed any temporal sovereignty as king of Zion, so his Church was not to be governed by earthly potentates, even if worthy of such high-sounding titles as "Most Christian King," and "Defender of the Faith." (See Matt. xviii., 15—20; Luke xxii., 24—30.) The holy Apostles knew nothing and said nothing about Church and State Christianity. "The weapons of our warfare," said they, "are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." "For our conversation, *i.e.*, citizenship (*politeuma*,—any conduct, act, or proceeding, *in the management of public affairs;* the administration of public, or state affairs) is in heaven." "Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment seats? Do not they blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called? Ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? Whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God." The whole New Testament is in spirit and letter opposed to the doctrine of a church connected with the state. The members of the churches of the New Testament are "chosen out of the world," "they are not of the world," they are kept "from the evil" of the world. "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, 'lo, here!' or 'lo, there!' for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you." It is "not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." The officers of Christ's church are not elected by either commons, lords spiritual and temporal, or both; they are not nominated by either patronage or premier; but by "the Holy Ghost and all the brethren;" by "the saints and faithful brethren." When Deacons had to be chosen: "Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, it is not reason that we should leave the Word of God, and serve tables. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business." The churches of Judea, Corinth, Rome, Galatia, Ephesus, and other places were not governed by acts of Parliament, but by "Holy Brethren," chosen from among those who "have obtained like precious faith with us;" men "who fed the flock of God, ruled with diligence, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy

lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock." The messengers, and ordinances, and institutions of these churches were not supported by royal bounties, grants from Parliaments, compulsory tithes and taxes as State Churches are, but by the voluntary contributions of those who were partakers of gospel ministrations and benefits; hence said Paul, "Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?" and very much more to the same purpose. (See 1 Cor. ix. 7–14; xvi. 1, 2; 2 Cor. viii. 9–15; ix. 1–10; Gal. vi. 6; 1 Tim. v. 17, 18, &c.) In the New Testament Churches, ecclesiastical power and discipline were in the hands of the elders, overseers, other officers, and "the faithful brethren" in the Church; not in the hands of the civil magistrate. (See Matt. xvii. 15–20; Acts v. 1–11; vi. 1–4; xi. 1–30; xv. 1–35; 1 Cor. v., vi., xi., xiv.; Gal. vi. 1–2; &c.) While it is admitted that the civil magistrate is to be obeyed; and "for conscience" and "the Lord's sake," "every ordinance of man" is to be submitted to, except it be opposed to the commands of God; and, while it is held that a Christian Church has a right to ask for defence, protection in the enjoyment of common civil rights and privileges, as well as exaction of dues and punishment, or vindication and recompense for injuries endured, it is altogether denied that the State, or the civil magistrate, as such, has any jurisdiction in Church discipline. Zwingle, a more advanced, and in other respects a more scriptural Reformer than Luther, attempted to amalgamate the civil and ecclesiastical powers in Church matters, but lost his life in the effort. Calvin's great mistake—the burning of Servetus—which has clouded his memory, arose out of the same sad and fatal mistake. So, in like manner, the atrocities which blacken the English Reformation, the protestantism of Henry VIII, Edward VI, the so-called "good Queen Bess," and the conduct of Presbyterians and Independents, when in power as State Churches, all arose out of the worldly and deadly error of allowing the State to interfere with Church discipline, and the enforcement of religious creeds and customs by the civil power.

The *union* of Church and State has *never* been beneficial. In Spain, Austria, Germany, Russia, France, England, and elsewhere, the connection has done immense injury. We appeal to the facts of history, and to what is transpiring in our own time all over Europe. This union is not sanctioned by the New Testament at all; nor is it by the Old, except simply and solely as connected with the Jewish people and the temporary dispensation of Moses. Though the Jewish Church was a theocratical State Church, its doctrines and its dues were not enforced by *civil coercion*, but

were voluntary. (See Gen. xiv. 18–20; xxviii. 16–22; Num. xviii., Exod. xxxv, xxxvi.; 1 Chron. xxix., etc.) State Churchism is contrary to the whole genius of the gospel and the very nature of christianity. It is not an elevating principle; for while it exalts and protects the sacerdotal and aristocratical classes, it keeps the people in bondage, and holds them to the dust. It is a dissocialising and embroiling principle. In Britain as well as in other lands, it has caused heartburnings, persecutions, disabilities, exclusions, bonds, imprisonments, and deaths. And who dare guarantee that it shall not do so again, if the union of Church and State continue? In general, true theological and religious progress is retarded and obstructed by it instead of being advanced. Dissolve the *connection* between Church and State. This union as it has ever yet obtained, is essentially corrupt; it hampers the action and progress of Christianity; and, ever since the time of Henry VIII., though not to such an extent as in previous ages, it has perpetrated outrages, abounded in evils, proved itself unreformable, and hunted to bonds and death Puritans, Nonconformists, Methodists, and Quakers. Scripture surely is sufficient to settle this question. It shows us that Christ's kingdom is an empire of holy souls—a communion of saints. It shows us that Christ is supreme and only Head,—that He has no Vicar in His Church, whether priest, or pope, or king. The scripture shows that this union is adulterous, and that Christ's own arm is sufficient for the support and defence of His Church. Thus civil establishments of Christianity will not stand their only authoritative test,—"The Word of God." They impeach the intrinsic power of the gospel; they give into the civil magistrates' hands powers which belong to the Church of Christ alone; they are contrary to the law of Christ for maintaining His Church; they destroy Christian union and fellowship, and prevent the breaches of Zion being healed; and so perpetuate heartburnings and wrongs; and, they are incompatible with the obvious rights of citizenship; all this has been proved again and again.

What, then, do State-Church advocates say to all this? They certainly profess very great show of reason. They tell us they and their predecessors in office have been united to the State and been privileged with its emoluments many generations! Wonderful logic, if true! This state of things has grown so old that now, by virtue of age, it is *good, and right, and wise!* Well, but the Church, by law established, has got and contributed more cash to schools, &c., than Dissenters; therefore disestablishment and disendowment are foolish in policy and wicked in principle—sacrilege! spoilation! robbery! infidelity! Thus they frighten all the nervous old ladies of *both sexes* in the land. What a triumph of logic! The Dissenters, from the days of Henry VIII. till now,

have had to pay their own ministers, build their own chapels, relieve their own poor, support their own missions and schools, which cover half the world, pay tithes and fees to the State Church, and, until very recently, have been plundered for Church-rates; and then the State Church advocates tell us they have raised more money than we! But, say they, we have all our vested interests at stake. Yes, now, that is honest truth! And who wants to rob you, or, to use a milder phrase, who wishes to take from you that which you have a just claim to? The advocates of disestablishment and disendowment would be among the last to take away the life interests and private endowments which can be shown to exist. They only contemplate the removal of State control, the proper resumption and appropriation of property which undoubtedly belongs to the nation as such, and the extension of religious liberty, equality, fraternity, and co-operation! Surely they who boast their title as "*The National Church*" cannot object to this; for if we, as a nation, have a National Church, we have the right, by our representatives, to appropriate its funds to the relief of the poor, the support of the unfortunate and helpless, and the education of the ignorant; which things, in truth, savour much more of Christ and HIS gospel than the befattening of ecclesiastics and aggrandisement of Anglican bishops. We trust that Mr. Miall's contemplated motion for a Royal Commission to enquire into the state and revenues of the Church, as by law established, will expedite that dissolution between Church and State, which is required by principles of equity, freedom, and Christianity, and which is so much in accordance with the spirit of these times. On this issue several seats in the House may be lost through the perversity of county or even misled borough constituencies; but the extension of the county franchise, thus allowing the will of the people to express itself, will secure the ultimate triumph of Liberal and Christian principles. A. C.

ART III.—THE MISSION OF METHODISM CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL ASPECTS OF THE AGE.

WE purpose to notice some of the most striking ecclesiastical aspects of the age, and then in the light of those aspects point out what appears to be the mission of the Methodist churches.

I.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL ASPECTS OF THE AGE.

Among the more prominent of these we mention (1) *Rationalism.* This is an age of great intellectual activity. Men read and think now as, perhaps, they never read and thought before. The old beaten tracks of thought are being forsaken. Old landmarks are being removed. Doctrines which have long been considered established are disputed or rejected. Sacred things are handled in a free, bold, daring manner. Reason is enthroned as the sole arbiter in matters of faith. Every doctrine must be examined at the tribunal, weighed in the balances, tested in the crucible of reason, and whatever reason fails to understand or demonstrate is rejected. The historical accuracy and divine inspiration of the Scriptures, the Deity of Jesus Christ, the Atonement, Justification by Faith, the personality and influence of the Holy Spirit, the immortality of the soul, the eternity of future punishment and other fundamental doctrines of christianity are disputed or rejected, not merely by the avowed enemies of religion, but by prominent members of the church. The bible is treated as a merely human production. Its narratives are in many instances regarded as allegories. Attempts are made to explain away its miracles, and show them to be ordinary events, brought about by ordinary laws and processes. One says that the Bible is scientifically wrong; another, that it is chronologically wrong; and another, that it is arithmetically wrong. Many eminent ministers and laymen, in both the Established and Nonconformist churches, are deeply tinged with scepticism. Orthodoxy is sneered at, and those who prefer to walk in the old paths of theology are stigmatized as ignorant or cowardly. Rationalism is one of the most skilful and dangerous manœuvres of the great adversary. It flatters the pride of the human intellect. Under pretence of superior learning and free and impartial inquiry, it twists and tortures the Scriptures to support a favourite theory. It takes away all life and power from the Word of God. When men ask for bread, it gives them a stone. When they ask for fish, it gives them a scorpion. But after all, rationalism can do no permanent harm to the truth of God. We have no fear for the truth. Mere human opinions and doctrines, not founded in the Word of God, will doubtless perish, but—

> "Firm as a rock the truth will stand,
> When rolling years shall cease to move."

(2) *Ritualism.* The ritualistic tendencies of the age are among its most striking phenomena. During the last quarter of a century, or a little more, there has been a remarkable revival of High Church doctrines and practices in the established church of this country. These are not now confined to a few solitary and obscure individuals, but are firmly held and openly avowed by hundreds of the

clergy, many of whom occupy positions of influence and responsibility. Apostolical succession, the authority of the church, and the efficacy of the sacraments, are being advocated in High Church papers, and preached in High Church pulpits. Ritualistic practices are spreading with surprising rapidity. The simplicity which formerly characterised the services of the Church of England is passing away, and a gorgeous and imposing ritual is taking its place. Altars, crucifixes, candles, incense, and superb ecclesiastical vestments are introduced into hundreds of the Protestant churches of this land. The most grotesque and outlandish styles of millinery are worn, the most ludicrous antics are performed, and the most unnatural tones of voice are adopted by the ritualistic priest, in his so-called religious services. The Virgin Mary is put in the place of Christ. Hymns are sung to Mary. Prayers are offered to Mary. The confessional is established. Attempts are being made to introduce monastic and conventional institutions, and incipient sisterhoods and brotherhoods are springing up here and there, under the fostering care of bachelor friends, fresh from Oxford. Sisters of Mercy, in mediæval dress; and brothers, sandled, shorn and girdled, may be seen perambulating the towns and villages of this Protestant country. Purchas, Mackonochie and Ignatius are representatives of numbers who, though they are the recognised ministers of a Protestant church and supported by a Protestant people, yet apply to the leaders of the great Protestant Reformation the most opprobrious epithets, and denounce them as worse men than the leaders of the French Revolution, and make no secret of their desire and purpose to bring the Church of England back to Rome. There has recently been a rapid development of this system. The nation is being aroused on the subject. The bishops are perplexed. The ritualists are at bay. Their attitude is that of defiance to all authority, civil and ecclesiastical. What will the end of these things be?

(3) *Liberalism.*—There is yet too much of bigotry, sectarianism, and intolerance among us. There are little men, in most communities, with little heads and less hearts, who fancy that they have got the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, who would brand as heretics all who do not give their unfeigned assent and consent to every article in their little creed or who hold deeper, broader, or more advanced views than themselves. But such men form a small minority. Liberal principles have gained ascendancy in ecclesiastical, as well as in political affairs. The walls of partition separating the religious societies of this country are lower than they ever were. There is less faith in creeds and more in Christ. The Churches are learning to recognise each other as members of one body of which Christ is the head. Doubt-

less we have much to learn on this subject, but we have learned much. There is a more cordial feeling existing among the nonconformist bodies than formerly. There is less bitterness between Church and Dissent. There are eminent men in the Established Church who have learned to recognise dissenters as Christians and dissenting ministers as brethren in Christ. Mr. Ryle, the late Dean Alford, and others have recently spoken out on this subject, and given utterance to the most liberal and catholic sentiments. An episcopalian D.D. inviting a dissenting D.D. to preach in his church is a significant event. And the desire which has been expressed, and the efforts which have been made to obtain such an alteration of ecclesiastical law that others may do what Dr. Blackburn and some others have done, show that the tide of liberalism and catholicity has set in even in the establishment. The discussions which have been held in various ecclesiastical assemblies, conformist and nonconformist, on the subject of the visible unity of the Church of Christ all show that we are growing out of straitlaced sectarianism, and are imbibing more and more of a liberal spirit. We consider that the views of those who contemplate a complete abandonment of denominational peculiarities, and a general amalgamation of the Churches are as yet aiming at what is visionary and impracticable. But there can be no doubt that the utmost catholicity of spirit is quite compatible with a firm, sincere and intelligent attachment to denominational creed and polity.

(4) *The tendency towards the separation of Church and State.*—There is a growing conviction that this event is only a question of time. It is evidently looming in the distance and casting its shadow before it, and may possibly come much sooner than even its most sanguine advocates expect. The evils resulting both to the nation and the Church from this connection are becoming more and more apparent; and the best friends of the Church, both inside and out, desire her emancipation from state control. Nonconformists have long and keenly felt the injustice done to them by state churchism. Many pious and intelligent episcopalians, lay and clerical, see the evil and anomaly of the connection, and will rejoice when it is severed. The ritualists, irritated and annoyed by State interference and control, pronounce against the unholy and adulterous alliance, and call loudly for an immediate divorce. Others fear it, yet seeing its inevitable approach are wisely preparing for it. A city may be strong against besiegers while there is unity within, but when dissension prevails among its defenders and a powerful party advocates surrender and calls upon the authorities to open the gates, its fall is but a question of time. Such is the position of the State Church to-day. Efforts to bring about the separation of Church and

State are not now confined to the Liberation Society without, but are put forth with equal zeal by a powerful party within the Church. That grand triumph of truth and justice over unrighteousness and oppression, the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in Ireland, has opened and prepared the way for a similar triumph in England. The motion for disestablisment recently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Miall received an unexpected amount of support, and the able and eloquent speech with which he backed it produced a powerful impression not only upon the House, but upon the whole country. That measure has tested the feeling of the nation on the subject, and the result is encouraging to the friends of religious freedom. The attempt will be repeated until complete success is secured. Enlightened episcopalians desire freedom. Noncomformists desire fairplay and religious equality, and they will both have their desire by-and-bye.

(5) *The position of the Papacy.* — We are frequently told that Roman Catholicism is making rapid progress in England, and that the power of the Pope is in a fair way for being re-established. If this be true of England, the papal power is certainly declining everywhere else. The continent is sick of it. In France, Austria, Spain, and Italy it is unmistakably on the decline. Events of profound importance and significance in relation to the Papacy have recently taken place over the whole of continental Europe. The late so-called Œcumenical Council discovered to the Pope and to the world that in the Roman Catholic Church there were men of intelligence, independence, piety, and moral courage akin to the Reformers of three hundred years ago—men who will neither have their minds fettered nor their tongues silenced. One result of the late horrible Franco-German war is that the temporal power of the Pope is destroyed, and Rome has become the capital of united Italy. By the promulgation of the infallibility dogma the Pope has inflicted irreparable injury upon his own cause. Father Hyacinthe, with marvellous eloquence of tongue and pen, has inveighed against the corruptions of the papal system. The excommunication of Dr. Döllinger is one of the last acts of infatuation committed by the Pope, suggesting the idea that he is smitten with judicial blindness and is precipitating himself and his system to certain destruction. Another aspect of the age is

(6) *Its evangelistic and benevolent enterprize.* — There is doubtless a vast amount of dormant power in the church, resources of wealth and talent yet to be developed and employed. But though her zeal may be more ardent, her consecration more complete, there is nothing grander in the aspects of the age than the efforts she is making to remove ignorance, poverty, and suffering, and to elevate and bless humanity. Every section of the

church now appears to be awake to the duty and importance of missionary operations; conviction was never stronger; feeling was never more intense on this subject than now. Every church has its missionary organisation and agency. There is scarcely any part of the heathen world that has not been visited by missionary agents. And there is something truly apostolic in the zeal, self-sacrificing labours, privations and successes of these men of God. The British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, and other kindred institutions, are fountains whence streams of pure and healthy literature are flowing into almost every town and village, not only of this country, but of many other countries. The various institutions raised by Christian benevolence for the good of mankind are an honour to the land and a blessing to the world. The hungry are fed, the naked are clothed, the ignorant are instructed. What noble, self-denying, and persistent efforts are made to preserve the innocent and reclaim the vicious. Think of our Sunday-schools. In the United Kingdom we have about half a million of Sunday-school teachers, gratuitously instructing about four millions of scholars. There is no more beautiful sight than this, on which heaven and earth can look every Sabbath day. With what vigour and success are the temperance reformers prosecuting the campaign against drunkenness and its attendant evils. Their principles are permeating society. The Government is made to feel their power. We hope to have the public-houses closed on Sunday soon, and to have the Permissive Bill enacted. It is true this is not strictly an ecclesiastical movement, but it is one of the leaves from the tree of life, which are for the healing of the nations. The number of home missionaries is rapidly increasing. The outlying masses of the people were never cared for, visited, and preached to as they are now. Open-air services are the order of the day. Bishops and noblemen are now adopting practices for which, a few years ago, Primitive Methodist preachers were persecuted and imprisoned. Amidst the abounding heresies and ritualistic fooleries of the age, it is refreshing to contemplate the earnest, vigorous efforts, individual and combined, which are being put forth to lessen the evil and increase the good of the world, to glorify God and to save the bodies and the souls of men.

(7) *The comparatively little success of religious enterprize.*—It is generally felt and acknowledged in the church that, in our conflict with evil, too few victories are won, too little territory is taken. In proportion to the important and varied agencies employed, but little is accomplished. The returns are not equal to the investment—we make very little headway. The increases of the churches are not even equal to the increase of population. There is much done, of course, which we cannot tabulate. Statistics do not always show the total results of church work. There is

doubtless much indirect as well as direct good done. Yet, after making all reasonable allowances and deductions, the fact still remains that our progress is slow, our success is small. And this is one of the principal things which should lead us to consider our position in relation to the age.

II.—THE MISSION OF METHODISM.

(1) *It is not political.*—Methodism is *not* the embodiment of a political creed. Its object is not of a political nature at all. It did not originate in any civil convulsion. At the time of the Reformation, and in the days of the Puritans, politics and religion were largely mingled; but there was no political element connected with the origin of Methodism. Methodism has doubtless excited a powerful influence on politics, but this has been done indirectly. And we believe that its political influence will be more powerful in the future than in the past. The extension of the franchise has put political power in the hands of the people; and as good citizens and loyal subjects, Methodist preachers and Methodist people ought to acquaint themselves with political subjects, and so prepare themselves for an intelligent exercise of the power entrusted with them. We see no reason why national affairs should be left entirely in the hands of ungodly people. And yet we may be too meddlesome in these matters. It is usually found that seasons of political excitement are unfavourable to the interests of Methodism. When Methodist preachers forsake the closet, the study, and the pulpit, and enter the arena of political contest, they mistake their vocation and injure the church. We shall be none the worse for an intelligent acquaintance with, and the prudent exercise of, our influence on political affairs, but we should bear in mind that the mission of Methodism is *not* political.

(2) *It is not scientific.*—There have been men in the Methodist communities who have acquired considerable acquaintance with geology, astronomy, mathematics, and other branches of science, and have even attained to eminence among scientific men; and neither their piety nor their Methodism was any the worse for it. We see no reason why science any more than politics should be relegated to profane and infidel hands. In these days science is frequently represented as opposed to Scripture; but this is a false representation, for both nature and revelation are from God, and must therefore be harmonious; and if we are wise in our generation we shall devoutly and diligently study both subjects, that our own faith may be confirmed and that we may be able to confirm the faith of others. Yet the "mission of Methodism" is *not* scientific.

(3) *It is not literary.*—Methodism has done much towards educating the people. Its influence upon literature has been

powerful in relation both to demand and supply. It has created a desire for education, and provided abundantly the means of gratifying that desire. It has opened its schools, sent out bands of trained and efficient teachers, and prepared its educational books, elementary and advanced. Some within its pale have zealously devoted themselves to literary pursuits, and have attained to eminence therein. John Wesley, Richard Watson, Adam Clarke, and several others are great names, not only in Methodism, but in literature. The literature of Methodism, though not fit to be compared with that of some other churches, is nevertheless respectable. Works have been produced by Methodist authors which are standard books on the subjects on which they treat. By forming alphabets, compiling grammars and lexicons, and translating the Scriptures and other books into the languages and dialects of the nations whither they have been sent, important services have been rendered to literature by Methodist missionaries. But these are the collateral effects, and not "the mission of Methodism."

(4) *It is not merely social reform.* Since the rise of Methodism there has been a complete revolution in English society. Socially the world has been turned upside down. And among the influences and agencies bringing this to pass Methodism has played no mean or unimportant part. It has done much towards elevating public sentiment and reforming public morals. Through its agencies drunkards have been reformed and thieves made honest; fallen virtue has been picked up in the street, and thousands of abandoned characters have been regenerated, and homes of misery made happy. The great social influence of Methodism, especially upon the rural population of this country, is evident to all, and is acknowledged by many. In promoting sobriety, industry, honesty, intelligence, respectability, and morality among the working classes, it has done more than any other community, and more than all the Social Science Congresses in the world. But this too is one of its indirect results. Its specific mission is not to promote the principles of social reform.

(5) *The mission of Methodism is a religious mission.*—It is to extend the kingdom of Christ—to "spread scriptural holiness throughout the land." It does not look upon man merely as being ignorant and needing education, nor as rude and barbarous, and needing civilization; but as a sinner that needs saving. It rewards him as an immortal being, destined to an endless existence, and while unconverted seeking death in the error of his way—treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath. It looks upon him as a brand in the fire, and it seeks to pull him out; as a mariner clinging to the wreck of earthly hopes and objects which he had made his trust, and it seeks to rescue him; as a

prodigal destitute and perishing, and it seeks to bring him home; as a slave, and it seeks his emancipation. It sees him guilty and polluted, diseased and dying, on his way to the grave and the judgment, and it seeks to save him from the wrath to come. Its work is "To turn men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." It is to convert sinners from the error of their way—to preach Christ, to warn every man and teach every man that every man may be presented perfect in Christ Jesus. What a work is this! A proper conception of it must oppress us, overwhelm us, and lead us to say with the apostle, "Who is sufficient for these things?" It is a noble thing to educate the ignorant, to emancipate the slave, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to shelter the destitute, and to heal the diseased; but these things appear trifling compared with saving souls from death. Think of the divine origin, the noble powers, the vast capacities, and the endless existence of the soul that we are to seek and save. Think of it in its degradation. It is a monarch in exile; a palace in ruins; a column prostrate and broken; a wandering star, for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever. Think of the happiness and glory which that soul may enjoy in heaven, and the woe unutterable which it may endure in hell, and you must see how great is our work, how vast our charge, how unspeakably important is the mission of Methodism.

What are now the qualifications necessary for an efficient discharge of this mission? We must be sound in doctrine. Methodism has a doctrinal basis. It is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone. Its creed is brief, simple, comprehensive, definite. Its founders took firm and intelligent hold of certain great scriptural truths. They were grounded and settled in the faith. And this gave stability and consistency to their character, distinctness and clearness to their teaching, and compactness and power to the system they originated. Methodism has a substantial framework of well-digested and intelligible theology. The doctrines which it believes and teaches are the bones and sinews of the system. A body without a substantial well-knit framework would be a weak and feeble thing; so is a Church without a definite and intelligible creed. All ecclesiastical history shows that where indifference, ignorance, or doubt has prevailed in relation to doctrinal matters, coldness, instability and weakness have prevailed likewise. Heresy tends to produce immorality. In these days of fierce controversy and refined scepticism, when doubt in reference to Christian doctrine is supposed to be an indication of superiority, if we would fulfil the mission of Methodism, if we would grapple successfully with the giant evils of our times, if we would awaken men from the deep sleep of sin, if we would permeate the

masses of society with the leaven of Christian principle and truth, if we would spread scriptural holiness throughout the land, we must hold fast the faithful word. We must be settled in the faith. We must know what we believe, and why we believe it. We should be able to give to every one that asketh a reason for the truths we hold and teach. We would not discourage honest investigation. Read and think for yourselves. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. On all controverted points ascertain not what men *think*, but what God *says;* and where God has not spoken refrain from a foolish and useless meddling. Go down to the bottom of the deepest mine, and climb to the top of the highest mountain of theological truth, but do not risk yourselves in any speculative balloon. In proportion to our ignorance or doubt of the truths we profess to hold and teach there will be a haziness, an indistinctness, and consequently feebleness in our teaching. "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?"

We must be clear in religious experience. If ever Methodism loses the experience of the new birth its spiritual glory will wane, its religious power will decline. Justification by faith, sanctification by the Holy Spirit, and the direct witness of the Holy Spirit to our adoption, are prominent points in our theology, and must be equally prominent facts in our personal experience. One of the most characteristic features of Methodism has been its firm belief in experimental religion, *conscious* salvation, *felt* redemption from sin to God. Its language on this subject has been apostolic, "We *know* that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren." And whatever we may relinquish or whatever we may modify to meet the requirements of the age, there must be no yielding on this point. If we would be successful in converting others we must be converted ourselves. "If we would kindle the flames of piety in the heart of another we must take living coal from the altar of our own heart. It is not impossible for God to make an unconverted man an agent in the conversion of another." I have read of a lens of ice being used to kindle inflammable substance by the rays of the sun; so God may sometimes employ an unconverted man for the purpose of converting another. It may have been the inscription written over the cross by Pilate, unconverted as he was, "Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews" was the means which the Holy Spirit used in the conversion of the thief that hung by the Saviour's side, and formed the basis on which he reared that prayer, "Lord remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." But such cases are exceptions. Neither wealth, nor talent, nor education, nor office will compensate for the lack of personal piety. By all means let us have the most brilliant talent, the most profound learning, the highest

culture and the most exquisite refinement if we can get them, but not at the cost of vital religion. We shall buy them too dearly at that price. We must have converted preachers in our pulpits, converted teachers in our schools, converted singers in our choirs, converted leaders in our classes and converted members composing our societies if we would spread a flame of piety through the land.

We must be consistent in practice. There must be perfect harmony between our doctrine, profession, and conduct. We must not only be correct in creed and fervent in feeling, but correct in life also. Our character must be without spot, our reputation without reproach. Our honesty, veracity, and purity must be above suspicion. We attach great importance to this matter. A defective practical godliness will utterly neutralize the effects of all that we may do or say to further the interests of Christ's kingdom, but Christian consistency will wield an almost irresistible influence. This is an argument for Christianity which infidelity cannot confute. It has often convinced the gainsayer, and put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. To fulfil the mission of Methodism we must not only *believe* religion, *profess* religion, and *talk* religion, but we must *live* religion. In the family, on the farm, in the shop, and in the market, our deportment must be such as becometh persons professing godliness. We ask not for an ostentatious parade of piety, or for a continual use of cant phrases and pious talk, the only effect of which will be to annoy and disgust all sensible people, and make religion contemptible; but we ask for patience, meekness, honesty, truthfulness, conscientiousness, "and whatsoever things are of good repute;" we ask for these things.

We must be earnest in purpose. The man who is intensely earnest—whose earnestness rises into enthusiasm—whose whole heart is in his work—whose zeal is not a fitful flicker but an intense and steady flame—knows little about impossibilities. Failure and retreat are words not found in his vocabulary. Success crowns his efforts. Demosthenes and Columbus are illustrious examples of intense earnestness overcoming the most formidable difficulties and being rewarded with success at last. We have often stood astonished at the success of the apostles in their evangelistic labours. Though they were few and feeble, and their opponents were numerous and mighty, yet their career was marked by continuous success. The "Acts of the Apostles" is a record of an unbroken series of victories over Jewish bigotry, Athenian scepticism, Corinthian licentiousness, Ephesian sorcery, and Roman power. And it is evident that their intense earnestness was one of the secrets of their extraordinary success. There was no half-heartedness in their efforts. Their whole souls were in their work. There was no sacrifice too great for them to make,

no journey too long or perilous for them to undertake, no hardships they could not endure, no danger they braved not. They counted not their lives dear unto them, so that Christ might be preached and sinners converted. And there is a striking similarity between the early days of Christianity and the early days of Methodism. A similar earnestness characterized its agents, and similar success attended their efforts. It has been said that Methodism is Christianity in earnest; and it must retain this character if it would fulfil its mission. Apathy must be allowed no place among us. Drones that eat honey, but will not labour to gather it, must not be tolerated in the hive. If we indulge in Laodicean ease, we must suffer Laodicean punishment. These are days of electricity and steam. Politically, scientifically, and commercially this is an earnest age. The spirit of evil, too, is abroad. Men are earnest in sin. What eager throngs are crowding the broad way. It is high time for us to awake out of sleep. We must throw off our lethargy and run the way of God's commandments. We must be zealous for the Lord of Hosts. The times demand of us an earnestness in which every believer must participate and which will awaken the most intense feeling and arouse to the most vigorous action every mental, moral, and physical power. We must all be in earnest. We need earnest preachers, earnest leaders, earnest members. We must be *always* in earnest. On week-days and Sundays, in summer and winter, when the sun shines and when the clouds gather; when the breeze and tides are favourable, and when the winds are contrary. We must be *everywhere* in earnest. In the place of prayer and in the place of business, in private and in public, at home and abroad. There must be earnestness in the flash of the eye, in the grasp of the hand, and in the tone of the voice. We want real earnestness, not the affectation of it. Bluster and fussiness are not earnestness. The devil laughs at these things. We have more than enough of affectation and foppery and sentimentalism in the church. We need earnest men and earnest women, for whom to live is Christ and to die is gain, "who won't be afraid of soiling their fingers by picking a jewel out of the mire, or of burning their hands by pulling a brand out of the fire." We want enlightened conviction, intense feeling, and combined and vigorous action to efficiently fulfil the mission of Methodism.

We must depend upon the Holy Spirit for success. Organizations the most complete, agencies, in every other respect the most efficient, and efforts the most zealous, judicious, and sustained, will result in failure unless such organizations be vitalised, such agencies inspired, and such efforts accompanied by the influence of the Spirit of God. The disciples were commanded to tarry at Jerusalem until they were endowed with power from on high.

"And when the day of Pentecost was fully come they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." Under the influence of that baptism of fire Peter stood up and preached, and his word was with power. His thoughts breathed, his word burned. They pierced like swords, they smote like hammers, they scorched like fire. Men felt that both themselves and the speaker were under the spell of a new and mysterious influence—that they were in the grasp of an invisible power. Under that sermon strong men trembled, proud men were humbled, wicked men were penitent. Bosoms heaved, tears flowed, and a cry of agony went up from the assembled crowd: "Men and brethren, what must we do?" And the same day there were added to the church about three thousand souls. Without that influence from heaven Peter would have been as weak as another man. It was this that made him and his brother apostles mighty. And the promise of the Spirit to the church is permanent: "He shall abide with you for ever." Endowment with power from on high is essential to an efficient fulfilment of our mission. Our agencies and ordinances must be baptised with holy influence. Every sermon we preach, every prayer we offer, every hymn we sing, every tract we distribute, every lesson we give in the school, every word of warning, exhortation, or reproof addressed to the unconverted, must be made vital by the Spirit's presence and power, or we shall spend our strength for nought. There have been men in Methodism who have specially honoured the Spirit, and the Spirit has specially honoured them. Wherever they went their word was confirmed with signs following. Moving to and fro among men, they left a track of holy light behind them; and being dead they yet speak. What we need to-day is more of the Spirit's power, and what we need we can obtain. "Your heavenly father will give his Holy Spirit to them that ask for it." "I will pour my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophecy." We may have the Spirit's influence in the pulpit, inflaming the preacher's soul and imparting light and power to his utterances. We may have it in our congregations, making the sinner tremble, weep, and pray, and causing the saints of God to shout for joy. This has been the secret of the church's success in every past age, and it is the secret of success to-day. Being filled with the Spirit—every one filled, always filled—we shall go forth in the fulfilment of our mission "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

It has been said that the mission of the Established Church is

to the upper, the mission of Congregationalism to the middle, and the mission of Methodism to the working classes. We accept this distribution of Christian labour as reflecting special glory on Methodism. Christ himself was despised by the rich, but "the common people heard him gladly." It is unquestionable that the organization and agencies of Methodism are specially adapted to reach and rescue the masses. God, by his providence, called it into existence for this very purpose. Its labours and successes have been chiefly among the common people. Considerable numbers in its societies and congregations now are wealthy and influential, but they have for the most part been made so by Methodism. Some Methodists, of an essentially low and mean type of mind, when their circumstances improve grow ashamed of their religious parentage, and go over to what they consider a more respectable community; but others, to their honour be it spoken, steadily adhere to the church which rescued them out of their poverty and degradation. As they rise in the social scale they carry their Methodism up with them. And so Methodism must rise in this respect. It is foolish complaining about our growing rich and respectable, because we cannot help it. But here is one source of our danger. We should remember that the mission of Methodism to the poor is by no means fulfilled. Our growing wealth and intelligence, and our rapidly increasing sanctuaries, many of them commodious and costly, should not make us forgetful or negligent of the poor, the outcast, and the perishing. The highways and hedges must not be forsaken. But while we claim for Methodism special adaptation to reach and evangelise the working classes, we claim for it an adaptation to man, whatever may be his social rank, his moral and mental condition, or to whatever nation he may belong. Wesley said "The world is my parish." And doubtless he said that because he felt the pressure upon his soul of the great commission: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." This is our commission also. It embraces all the world and every creature. This indicates our sphere of labour. It is not restricted to a special rank or class, or to a particular nation or locality. It is not the reformation of a single neighbourhood or nation that is contemplated, but the conversion of the whole human family to God. When the purpose of the Saviour's incarnation shall be accomplished and the works of the devil destroyed; when the last foe is conquered, the last fortress stormed, and the last territory taken for Jesus; when the living spiritual temple is completed and the top stone brought on with shouting "Grace, grace unto it;" when the harvest of the world is come, the last sheaf is safely garnered, and the angels are shouting harvest home; when the last wanderer is reclaimed, the last proud heart humbled, the last sinner saved; then, but not till then, will the mission of Methodism be accomplished. T. C.

ART. IV.—ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL.

THE word *soul* is taken from the Saxon *sawel*, *sawl*, or *saul*. It is defined as "the spiritual, rational, and immortal substance in man which distinguishes him from the brute." The word *immortality* denotes "the quality of never ceasing to live or exist." By the immortality of the human soul is meant the perpetual existence of our spiritual and rational nature.

This subject has occupied the mind of man from time immemorial. Reference to it may be found in most, if not in all, the ancient systems of philosophy. The doctrine of the endless existence of the human soul was by some denied, by others admitted, and by not a few weighted with puerile and monstrous speculations. This dogma entered into the patriarchal and Mosaic theology, and was embraced by the early fathers of the Jewish church. "These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth." In the beginning this doctrine was the subject of divine revelation —clear, precise, determinative; and the speculations to be found in heathen writers on the immortality of the soul are but refinements and corruptions of an inspired truth—"thin, pale, ghostly images, without the power, and life, and burning glory of the primitive idea." This dogma being once received and wrought up into the fabric of a religious philosophy, it is easy to slide into the supposition that it may be demonstrated by unaided reason. We know, on reliable authority, that the Hebrews were often dispersed, and that during their dispersions they resided near to the seats of ancient learning. We are also informed that a spirit of enquiry led many of the early Greek philosophers to travel in quest of information, and it is almost certain that in this way the Hebrew seers and the Hebrew writings were brought into contact with the fathers of heathen thought, and that some of the cardinal truths of Hebrew theology would be borrowed, and incorporated with pagan systems. These doctrines were stripped of their original simplicity and grandeur and congruity, in order to adapt them to pre-conceived theories, and to invest philosophic systems with an air of originality. Such, probably, was the treatment which the doctrine of the soul's immortality received at the hands of the pagan literati. We are not prepared to credit them with the discovery of this dogma by processes of reasoning: nay, the assumption is that they have so manipulated the originally revealed doctrine as to defy all attempts to identify it in the voluminous tomes of

ethnic thought. But amid all that is varied and contradictory in heathen writings, there is one element ever present, one principle ever prominent, viz., the ultimate absorption of the soul into the divine essence. "Bishop Warburton proves that this opinion was not merely held by the atheistical and sceptical sects among the Greeks, but by what he calls the philosophic quaternion of dogmatic theists, the four renowned schools, the Pythagoric, the Platonic, the Peripatetic, and the Stoic." This doctrine of absorption is a perversion of the inspired dogma, and destructive of the belief in the soul's true and proper immortality. Admitting the reflux of our immaterial essence in the All, where consciousness and personality are destroyed, what would remain? Why, that cold and dreary annihilation which the Buddhist regards as the acme of perfection and happiness.

But when we turn to Plato, who may be regarded as the Moses of philosophers, it is refreshing to discover in his writings an attempt to prove the doctrine of the soul's immortality according to our conception of it. In the Phœdrus and Phœdon, in the Timæus and other dialogues, a serious endeavour is made to grapple with, and master, this subject by ratiocinative processes. So much that is foreign and self-contradictory is imported into the question, that it becomes somewhat difficult to articulate the true Socratic idea. Whether Plato knew his own mind on this subject is questionable; and whether any one else knows it is more questionable still. Plato assumes the existence of eternal ideas or forms such as truth, beauty, goodness, &c., and hence infers the eternal existence of an intelligent substance in which those ideas inhere, and by which they may be cognised. But this position is evacuated when he affirms that all mind is immortal, whether it be cosmical or creatural mind. In fact, the notion of an ante-eternity is more germane to the Platonic system than a post-eternity, inasmuch as it constitutes the basis on which Plato's view of eternal ideas reposes, and yields the foundation for that doctrine of reminiscence which forms one of the characteristics of his philosophy. Now this assumption of the eternal existence of an intelligent substance in which they inhere, and by which they are known, is met by revelation, and met in such a way as to avoid the contradictions which the Platonic theory involves. The sacred writings teach that Jehovah is from everlasting to everlasting, and that known unto Him are all His works from the beginning. So far the philosophic assumption and the revealed doctrine exhibit a partial agreement; but when it is affirmed that all souls are eternal, we are landed into the inexplicable absurdities of pantheism. If the soul has existed in the eternal fellowship of the free, the beautiful, and the good, we ourselves have no recollection of such a pre-existence. More-

over, such a belief invests the soul with the attribute of infinite duration, and it must also possess the corelative attribute of infinite expansion: for a thing to be infinite in one relation, and finite in another is absurd. A finite infinite or an infinite finite is alike impossible. If, however, the soul possess the attributes of infinity, then we have a plurality of infinites, which is equally contradictory. However the assumption of the eternal existence of ideas may quadrate with our belief in the existence of the infinite intelligence, it is fatal to the belief in the past immortality of the human soul: and if the Platonic theory fails to prove the doctrine of the past immortality of the soul, it affords no foundation on which to construct an argument for its future immortality.

So far as we are acquainted, the doctrine of the soul's immortality has received but scant attention in patristic and scholastic theology; and in the works of the Reformation divines this subject is not handled with that fulness and precision which might be desiderated. Samuel Drew, whose name we mention with respect and reverence, published a work entitled "An Essay on the Immateriality and Immortality of the Human Soul, founded solely on physical and rational principles." In the preface the author says, "The ground on which I have assumed the present question is simply this—Have we, or have not, any rational evidence of the soul's immortality, admitting that no revelation had been given us from God?" To us this looks like a partial begging of the question. A preliminary question of transcendent importance requires to be met and disposed of, viz., if "no revelation had been given us from God," would Mr. Drew or any other man have ever conceived such a notion as that of the soul's immortality? It would be impossible for the distinguished author to divest himself of his Christian surroundings and experiences. Our conviction is, that if "no revelation had been given us from God," the belief in the immortality of the soul instead of being "founded solely on physical and rational principles," would never have entered the brain, or occupied the pen of the celebrated metaphysician. The essayist enters on the argument with a foregone conclusion. The case is prejudged. Drew believed in the soul's immortality, and this belief was the product of faith, rather than a deduction of pure reason. Strictly speaking, the discussion is not an attempt to discover or to prove that which was before unknown to reason, but an attempt to demonstrate that which was previously known to faith.

The two main terms employed throughout the book are negatives—immateriality and immortality being privatives of materiality and mortality. According to the teaching of the Hamiltonian school, we cannot arrive at a notion of immateriality

but by divesting materiality of those properties which inhere in matter, and by which matter is known. But, in this process of denudation, what do we get? By stripping materiality of all its known qualities, in order to ascertain its apposite, what do we arrive at? Why, nonentity. So far as conception goes, we are thus conducted to the philosophic dictum that pure spirit is pure nothing. By this reasoning it is not meant to deny the existence of spirit, but that we cannot form a positive conception of it. We know that spirit does exist—it is a fact of consciousness; but it cannot exist as a concept, inasmuch as it is a non-content. It possesses no marks, no contents, no points of differentia by which it can be marked off from other entities. Drew's work, then, looks like a philosophy of negation. Where the essayist proceeds to prove the immortality of the soul from its immateriality, a difficulty presents itself to us, namely—if immateriality be a negation in thought, or of thought, how can it constitute a basis for a positive argument? In other words, how can a negative premise yield a positive conclusion? Out of nothing nothing can arise. We are aware that Drew arrived at his view of immateriality quite differently from Sir W. Hamilton. With the renowed Scotsman conscientiousness and perception constituted the *via media.* No doubt Drew regarded the terms immateriality and immortality as implying realities; but their etymology yields nothing more than privity. In the criticisms we have offered on these terms we may be regarded as hypercritical, but thoughtful readers will see that, in the discussion of abstruse subjects such as the one before us, it is of importance to use a precise and positive nomenclature.

In the body of the work expressions and propositions occur which fail to carry with them our assent. There is an oblivion of consciousness, and an overlooking of the teachings of experience. The syllogism may be plausible, and carry with it the air of certainty, yet we instinctively recoil from the conclusion without being able perhaps to detect the fallacy. Something tells us that such and such cannot be. The *ergo* is fairly employed, but we sometimes fail to discover that necessary causation of which this term is the sign. The rebellion which Drew's reasonings occasionally awaken may proceed from the pungency and conclusiveness of his arguments, or it may arise, on his part, from inattention to certain elements and laws of our mental constitution. It is as if a man were concentrating his attention on some particular object through a microscope, whilst for the time being he is oblivious of a universe of thought and fact around him. In chap. i., sec. 2, Drew argues on the impossibility of the soul's being destroyed by material force. To this position we say Amen; but to the argument employed we cannot so readily yield our consent. "An immaterial substance therefore," says he, "can have no surface; and what has no surface

can never be brought into contact with that which has." It is thus concluded that the soul cannot be destroyed by material force, inasmuch as that which has no surface cannot be brought into contact with that which has. But is it true that that which has no surface can never be brought into contact with that which has? Can spirit not be brought into contact with matter, or *vice versa?* If this be answered in the negative, then creation itself seems impossible. How is the physical universe sustained if no contact exists between it and the Deity? Moreover, is not our spirit in intimate contact with our body? We cannot accept the validity of Drew's premiss. Facts are against it. How such contact is possible it is not for us to say; yet the author might have been conscious on reflection of such contact between his mind and his pen at the very time when he wrote that sentence.

In Section V. Drew says, "Those therefore who, out of veneration to the Divine Being, ascribe to him the power of producing annihilation, do in reality ascribe to him an effect which seems contrary to his nature, and which, therefore, his nature seems incapable of producing. That power which produces annihilation must produce a nonentity; and that power which produces a nonentity produces nothing. I therefore conclude that annihilation must be impossible." We take exception to the expression, "the power of producing annihilation;" it is similar to another hackneyed phrase, "creation out of nothing." Drew speaks guardedly when he says, "an effect which *seems* contrary to his nature." A thing that *seems to be* may be very different from a thing that *is*. We submit that this hypothetical form of putting the question will scarcely support a valid and satisfactory conclusion. But how do we know what is possible to the Infinite? And until we know what is possible, how can we know what is impossible? To arrive at such a knowledge of the possibility or impossibility of the divine efficiency would require a wider range of intellect than the creature can possess. If the Creator caused the creature to be, can he not *will* it to relapse into non-being? Drew says No; and enters on an elaborate argument to support his conclusion. To us all reasoning on this point seems irrelevant. We instinctively believe God can annihilate as well as create. But attempt to prove or to disprove the possibility of annihilation is to overstep the legitimate province of reason, and to enter

> "A land of deepest shade,
> Unpierced by human thought."

In Section VII. the Deity seems bound hard and fast to, or by, those beings and laws and conditions which he has brought into existence. A kind of inexorable necessity chains him to the creation, from which it is impossible to escape. Having called the creature into being, he cannot destroy it, or cause it to cease to

be, by the exertion of power, by the suspension of power, by the absence of power, or by any cause whatever. To us this necessitarianism involves a very degrading view of the Deity. Starting from such a point as he did, Drew was sure to land in this conclusion. Possibly we could, by show of argument, demonstrate the impossibility of creation; but what would it amount to? Our slight experience in speculation produces the conviction that one line of abstract reasoning on the nature and mode of the divine existence may be met by an opposite line of thought equally conclusive. There is a many-sidedness in the Infinite, and each phase or aspect may suggest a separate train of argument, which, when taken in relation to other trains of argument, may be correct; but which, taken separately, may be false. Human logic cannot be made the measure of the Almighty.

In Chap. ii. sec. 2: "If then the soul perish through an immaterial intelligent power or agent, this agent must operate in its effects quite contrary to its own nature. For, to suppose any intelligent agent to possess a power which produces an effect which is contrary to itself, and while it retains a nature which is contrary to the effect produced by it, is to suppose it capable of producing an effect and incapable of producing it at the same time." It is here meant that for an intelligent agent to produce annihilation involves the absurdity of supposing it to produce an effect contrary to its own nature; probably so, but is not the creation of matter by a purely spiritual Being the production of an effect which is contrary to the nature of the producing agent? Like begets like; but for spirit to originate matter is equal to like begetting that which is unlike, and therefore, Drew would say, impossible. So it is impossible in thought, but not in fact. Reason as we may, creation exists, and exists through or by a cause contrary to its own nature.

The last sentence in the essay is as follows, "And, therefore, from this mass of evidence, drawn purely from the fountain-head of nature, uncorrupted by literary prejudices and unshackled by any bias of education, fully satisfied I am that the human soul must necessarily be immortal." Drew makes no difference between the immortality of God and the immortality of the creature. He declares that immortality enters into the very nature of the human soul; that it is essential to its very being; that the one cannot be separated from the other; and asserts that no power can possibly reduce the soul to nonentity without involving inexplicable contradictions. The position in which the essayist finds himself is this, viz., that the soul once in existence can never cease to be; at least, he cannot conceive how it can be put out of being. Neither can we; but our conviction arises from the fact that annihilation is a subject that precludes all conception, all reasoning, all demon-

stration. Something may be behind the curtain of which we are profoundly ignorant. It is evident that St. Paul understood the divine immortality differently to what he understood creatural immortality. Of God he writes, "Who *only* hath immortality." The Almighty possesses immortality in a sense in which we do not possess it. With him it is *sui generis*. The word "only" (*monos*) limits it to the Divine Being, as belonging peculiarly and emphatically to him. The Deity "hath" it, we receive it. It is his as an essential and eternal property of his being; it is ours by impartation and sustentation. In a psychological no less than in a corporeal sense may it be affirmed, "In him we live, and move, and have our being."

Taking the Essay on the Immortality of the Soul as a whole, we have two objections to urge. The entire drift of the work is to prove the utter impossibility of conceiving of the soul's ceasing to be, and hence the inference is drawn that it must be immortal: very good. We have to oppose to Drew's demonstration (?) this axiom, "Whatever has a beginning may have an end. If a thing is not *from* everlasting it may not be *to* everlasting; and if a thing may not be *to* everlasting, how can it be necessarily immortal? Either one or other of us must be right, and the other wrong, or else we must be both right or both wrong. Who shall it be? These positions create a dead-lock, a thing somewhat common in metaphysical research. In the second place, we object to reason on the subject of annihilation either *pro* or *con*. The essayist says that annihilation or nonentity of being cannot be conceived; exactly so. Yet it seems passing strange that six or seven sections of the work should be occupied in seeking to demonstrate the non-possibility of that of which he declares we can have no conception. If we can have no conception of a thing, how can we demonstrate it, or otherwise? The man who tries to prove the notion of annihilation, and the man who attempts to disprove it, are both engaged in the fruitless task of beating the air. In a foot-note, chap. i. sec. 4, Drew remarks, "I think it not necessary, in this place, to inform the reader that while I assert annihilation to be impossible, I would by no means insinuate that annihilation is not within the reach of Omnipotent power." Does not this admission amount to a surrender of the question? The belief of the Christian triumphs over the argument of the logician, and presents us with another illustration of the fact that the doctrine of the soul's immortality cannot be demonstrated by reason, but must be received as an article of faith. That portion of the work on the impossibility of the human soul by dissolution, by privation, or by any material power, is the most useful and conclusive; whilst those portions which bear on the limitation of the divine efficiency and annihilation are open to very serious doubt.

Whilst the Cornish philosopher contends for the natural and necessary immortality of the soul, some believe that the soul can and will be annihilated. We may divide these destructionists into two classes—those who hold the preservation of the immaterial essence, but the destruction of consciousness and personality; and those who maintain that consciousness, together with the spiritual substance, will cease together. The difference between the two opinions is more apparent than real, inasmuch as both involve the same contradictions. We purposely avoid investing this word annihilation with a fictitious reality by applying to it such terms as conception, doctrine, theory. It is nothing but a whim, an empty fancy, a philosophical conceit, a nothing. Were we to treat this matter as it deserves, we would just let it alone. It is not worth blotting paper over. But were we to dismiss it in this cavalier manner it might be retorted that we were incompetent to grapple with the subject. We readily admit our incompetency, and our incompetency arises from the fact that there is nothing to grapple with. The one simple and fatal objection we have to this question is, that annihilation cannot be conceived. It has no existence, either in reason or in fact. It cannot be argued about. In attempting to deal with it thought is paralyzed and struck dumb; we cannot affirm it, and we cannot deny it. Such a phantom has no *locus standi* in the realms of pure thought, but must be relegated to the airy regions of imagination.

We now enter a more pleasing field of enquiry, and endeavour to ascertain the value of that argument which is derived from the instincts and native desires of the human soul. The wonderful achievements of the human mind, the desire for another life, the craving for happiness, the capabilities of the soul, the moral discrepancies of the present state, and so forth, are urged as constituting a presumptive evidence, if not a demonstrative proof, of the soul's immortality. There is no need to dwell on each particular seriatim. We may regard them as a whole—as forming a branch of evidence on which considerable stress is laid. The heathen sages possessed these evidences as well as ourselves, and probably scrutinized them with an intenser gaze. They looked on them and examined them in the light of nature, and endeavoured to elicit a response which might dispel their doubts and satisfy their aspirations; but whilst some affirmed that they heard a voice speaking to them of a life beyond the present, others declared "that there was neither voice, nor any to answer, nor any that regarded." We are surprised at the confident and triumphant air with which some persons enter on this enquiry. They seem to treat the fathers of Greek and Roman thought as mere children, because they were unable to arrive at a definite and uniform opinion. Say such, the potentialities of the human mind are so profound, so varied, so far-reaching,

as to render the doctrine of the soul's immortality absolutely certain. Now, we cannot help thinking that if it were possible to exclude the light of revelation, it is questionable whether the native powers of the soul would suggest or indicate its immortality. At the most, this branch of evidence is only presumptive, and is such only so far as it is illumined by and subordinated to the teaching of God's revealed word. Strictly speaking, it is only presumptive evidence of the soul's immortality mediately. It would be more correct to say that it forms a presumption of its future existence; but future existence, though pointing towards immortality does not necessarily imply it. For aught we know to the contrary, the moral inequalities of this life may be equalised at some future period, without requiring an everlasting continuity of being. The capacities of the human soul may possibly find their complete measure and satisfaction in an after state, and then cease to be. Of course we don't believe such will be the case, but for our higher belief we are indebted to a higher—a Divine—source, and not to any argument based on the present capacities and conditions of the human soul. Somehow or other we hold the belief that the soul, once admitted to a future life, must necessarily continue immortal—that, once past the Rubicon of death, it must realize an endless existence. It may be affirmed that the native powers of the soul and the moral conditions of the present state yield a presumption that the future life will be continuous. Probably so; but the crucial point is, will that existence be everlasting —will it be a continuity without end—will it be immortal? Is the case proven? does the premiss justify the conclusion? How do we know what may occur at some far-distant point in duration? What right have we to project our thoughts into futurity, and from that point to construct another foothold on which we may erect an argument for the soul's immortality; and, after we have reached that distant point, to repeat the process *ad infinitum*? Would not such a fancied immortality consist of numberless limited periods of duration, which series could never constitute a true and proper immortality. What we project is, and must be, limited by time and space; and within the circumference of the finite, it is sheer folly to attempt to prove the infinite.

The analogical argument belongs to the same category of evidence. In the order and constitution of nature we may discover certain phenomena which awaken a reasonable presumption that the soul shall exist in a future state. But this argument cannot, in the nature of things, be authoritative and conclusive. Its formula is not "must be," but "may be." It yields a probability that the soul shall enjoy a posthumous existence; but whether that existence be everlasting is beyond the province of this argument to determine. See on this subject Butler's Analogy,

chap i. on a "Future State." We may, before dismissing this part of our subject, quote a couple of judicious sentences from "Bell's Great Possession," "We do not contend for the soul's necessary existence, as we believe its life in time and eternity depends on the will of the Creator; nor do we in any sense admit the notion, that intuition is on a *par* with the Bible. But we do contend that the mind's endowments and aspirations, its quenchless thirst for knowledge, its greed of life its drawings towards the invisible—added to the lessons of creation, and our reflections on the divine character, and the moral government of the world,—are powerful confirmations of the declaration made in the word of God." The conclusion of the matter, then, is this, if these multifarious evidences constitute but powerful *confirmations* of the declarations of God's word, we are driven to that word as affording the only sure and satisfactory basis on which may be constructed an argument for the soul's immortality.

In reflecting on scripture evidence of the soul's immortality we are struck with this fact—that whilst a large number of passages may be marshalled in support of this doctrine, there is quite a paucity of texts in which it is declared with simplicity and clearness. Like other fundamental religious facts it is assumed rather than affirmed. It is generally taught in an indirect manner and is interwoven with the texture of biblical theology.* In pursuing our method of proof, we do not flatter ourselves that we shall be able to work out a conclusion so clear, so inconvertible, and so easy to be understood, as that the sun shines or that two and two are equal to four; yet the evidence which revelation yields, though somewhat indirect and implicatory, is so varied, so cumulative, so rational, as to constitute a moral demonstration sufficient to satisfy all reasonable demands.

In the Christian atonement we may discover a strong presumption in favour of the doctrine of the soul's immortality. In the attempts made to understand this mystery of godliness differences of opinion exist, but there are several broad and unmistakable bearings in the substitutional work of our Lord, on which the majority of Christians agree, and which serve our present purpose. One such bearing points to the work of the human soul. Undoubtedly the atonement has invested the soul of man with transcendent value; but may it not be true that prior to, and independent of the atonement the human soul is a jewel of inestimable worth? Such seems to be implied in the language of the Saviour, "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his

* "The evidence of Scripture will be found to possess a force by implication of principles, which far surpasses any imaginable value that ought to be attached to etymological import of single words."—Isaac Taylor.

soul?" Again, it is frequently declared that one specific object of Christ's advent into this world was the salvation of men. We do not say that this constituted the primary or the exclusive purpose of the incarnation; still revelation teaches that redemption of man was to direct the immediate and the principal purpose for which the Word was made flesh. "Jesus came into the world to save sinners." In the midst of his humiliation and agony sinners lay near his heart; on them he thought, over them he yearned, for them he prayed, and the hope was cherished that by his obedience unto death, sinners might not perish, but by believing on him have everlasting life. However grand and far-reaching may be the bearings and issues of the atonement in relation to the moral universe, they could only be reached by the redemption of man. It is a well-ascertained law in the divine operation that the means should be proportioned to the end. If the means be insufficient, the end proposed is a failure; and if the means be more than sufficient there is waste. The means, then, should be adequate to effect the object intended, no more and no less. Now if the grave be the goal of human existence, we perceive in the work of our blessed Lord a vast disproportion between the means employed, and the end to be accomplished. Is it probable that a scheme so unique should have been originated, that a price so priceless should have been paid for human redemption, if at death man cease to be? In that case the atonement of Christ in its man-ward aspect becomes totally unmeaning. It is a system of means which the end does not appear to require or to justify. If the soul is not immortal, then the shedding of Christ's blood for its salvation seems an extravagant expenditure.

The immortality of the soul may be inferred from the nature of subjective religion. Take the following passages, which exhibit the negative aspect of the religious life: "He that believeth on him is not condemned." "The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is longsuffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish." Said Jesus, "I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believth on me shall never thirst." Speaking of his sheep the good Shepherd declares, "They shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand." Whosoever heareth the words of Jesus and believeth on him "shall not come into condemnation." These negative phrases, are not condemned, not willing that any shall perish, shall never hunger and thirst, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand, and shall not come into condemnation, all imply that those who believe in the Son of God shall enjoy immunity from that eternal ruin which will overtake the impenitent. Again, we may quote a text or two which present the positive aspect of the inner life. Addressing the

Samaritan woman, Messias said, "Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life." The exhortation to us is, "Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life." "Also he that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life." In order to comfort the disciples in prospect of their orphanage, the Saviour declared, "Because I live, ye shall live also." The life which he promised is everlasting life, and this life is in the believer's possession now. He hath it, and shall continue to have in the ineffable and eternal fellowship of him who is life. If this spiritual life is everlasting, the subject in whom it inheres, and by whom it is enjoyed, must be equally everlasting. But in the Johannic writings we discover a more profound exhibition of the religious life. See John xvii. 20–24. We profess our inability to comprehend the doctrine of the soul's absorption in the light and love of the Godhead. By the Gnostic disciples there is affirmed a mutual life, a mutual indwelling, a mutual intercommunion. If we dwell in God, God dwells in us, we are made partakers of the divine nature. This mysterious relationship furnishes us with the basis and the guarantee of the soul's deathlessness. Its life is the life of God. Its love is the love of God. Its blessedness is the blessedness of God. Its immortality is the immortality of the immortal. If such be the nature of religion in the soul we may naturally expect that it will give birth to aspirations after a higher and better life than the present; in this expectation we are not disappointed. Throughout the sacred volume such longings "for glory and honour and immortality" arrest our attention on almost every page. And nothing but such an endless fruition of bliss will exhaust those hopes and satisfy those desires which are the peculiar experience of the people of God.

This doctrine is supported by that relation which Almighty God is said to sustain to the souls of the departed. Take the idea of possession. In the rebellion of Korah and his confederates, Moses and Aaron "fell on their faces, and said, O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh." In reply to the reproof of Zophar, Job acknowledged the majesty of him "In whose hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind." In Ezekiel Jehovah declares, "Behold all souls are mine." They belong to God by virtue of creatorship; this right he asserts, and in this right he rejoices. The present tense which is employed implies a present and a continuous possession. Instead of limiting the divine claim to souls which exist in this life, we have reason to extend the claim over all disembodied spirits: the dust shall return to the earth as

it was, "and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." In that conversation which Jesus had with the Sadducees "as touching the resurrection of the dead," he enquired, "have ye not read that which was spoken by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?" This was originally addressed to Moses out of the burning bush in Horeb. When that announcement was made the patriarchs had been dead and buried several hundreds of years. To Moses it was an assurance not merely that Jehovah was the God of those Jewish worthies whilst in the flesh; but that in their disembodied state he exercised over them the same prerogative and authority—he was still their God. Moreover, Jesus adds, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." To the dead there is no God; to them it is as if the divinity itself were reduced to nihilism. This utterance, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living," involves the relational existence of the Deity. God is necessary to the living, and may we add, that the living though not requisite to the existence of God, are necessary to that relationship which can only subsist between intelligent beings—a relation that is rational, reciprocal, and conducive to happiness; for it is only over the living that the moral government of God can be exerted, and only by the living can his law be recognised and obeyed. Such a view receives a striking confirmation in the appearance of Moses and Elias during the transfiguration of our Lord.

The immortality of the soul is involved in the resurrection of the body. The soul is immortal now, or rather, it possesses an ever-present capacity for existence: the body is but mortal, and possesses a continual capacity for mortality. As far as we know, the former, at death, undergoes no radical change; the latter does. The one passes onward in that continuous life, of which the life that now is is the germ, and of which the life that is to come is the flower; but the other returns to a state of dissolution. So at the resurrection, we are not aware that the soul will undergo any constitutional change to adapt it for immortality, but the body will experience a transformation so wondrous as that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived. It is now a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. Why then this resuscitation and elevation of the inferior part of human nature? St. Paul says, "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." For what purpose is this on-putting? The builder of the house is greater than the house. Yes, and the tenement must needs be less honourable than the occupant. If the building is capacitated for perpetual duration, the tenant on whose behalf it is reared and preserved must be deathless too. A body is only a body so far as it is related and united to the soul; for only in that relation can it perform the bodily functions; but though we

cannot say that the soul is only a soul so long as it exists in connection with the body, we may venture to affirm that the body is necessary to the full development of the soul's faculties. And be it observed that the terms which are employed in reference to the resurrection of the body indicate and set forth a resurrection not to a limited but to an eternal existence. It is raised in incorruption, it is raised in glory, it is raised a spiritual body, the image of the heavenly, put on immortality, are specimens of the expressions used. And as if to close all objections it is added, "Then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, death is swallowed up in victory." If, then, the raised body will live for ever, the plain inference is, that the soul whose vehicle and instrument that body is will live for ever also.

Lastly. In the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments the soul's immortality is involved. It is quite unnecessary for us to enter upon an exposition and a vindication of the nature and duration of future rewards. Such a step would transgress the obvious limits of this paper, and in the presence of our Anglican theology would appear quite superfluous. The authorised dogmatics of Methodism recognize the everlastingness of future happiness and misery. The present life is understood to be a state of trial, preparatory and determinative of a future of endless joy or endless woe. The light of nature indicates such a condition of things, but the inspired volume reveals this doctrine with clearness and precision, and invests it with unimpeachable authority. Reason tells us that there *may be* such; revelation assures us that there *shall be.* Referring to the irrevocable destiny which shall be pronounced on the good and on the evil at the last day, Jesus says, "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal." If, then, the recognition and recompense attendant on moral character shall be of endless duration, it follows that the subject of such character must also possess perpetual existence. "Everlasting punishment" implies that the ungodly shall everlastingly continue in existence to receive the measure of the infliction due to their guilt. "Life eternal" implies that the righteous shall eternally exist, that they may enjoy that fulness and weight of glory which constitutes both the fruit and the reward of a faithful and holy life.

Gathering up these various evidences into a consistent and compacted unity, allowing each its due position and its proper weight in the argument, and giving to the whole its legitimate bearing and effect, the conclusion is almost irresistible, that the human soul is immortal. In the affirmation and support of this doctrine let us secure firm footing, let us welcome all auxiliary aids, but above all let us rejoice that our Lord Jesus Christ "hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel." T. P.

ART. V.—EUSEBIUS AS AN HISTORIAN.

A VERY few words will relate all we know of the early life of Eusebius. He was a native of Palestine, and we conclude, from certain incidental data in his writings, that he was born within the period from A.D. 259 to 270. In 315 he was chosen bishop of Cæsarea, and continued in that office until his death in 340. His first work was entitled Chroicon, a description of the rise and growth of all nations, down to his own day. Only fragments of the work remain, and some parts translated by Jerome. In the prime of life he wrote a polemical treatise in fifteen books, in which he exposes the folly of heathen theology and worship. He also constructs an elaborate argument to convince the Jews, out of their own scriptures, that Jesus is Messiah. But his good intention and unquestionably powerful reasoning are vitiated by the double sense or meaning which he attaches to the Old Testament. A sequel to this work was published afterwards. Another of his works was on the Topography of the Scriptures. Having passed all his life in Palestine, and living at so early an age, he had peculiar advantages for settling some doubtful questions in Biblical geography. His five books in defence of Origen, the Book of Martyrs in Palestine, his treatises against Porphyry, Hierocles, and Sabellius; his life of Constantine, and his ten books of Ecclesiastical History, complete the list of his works.

Eusebius sustained also a conspicuous part in the great controversies of his age. He was deeply implicated in the Arian controversy, and was a prominent member of the famous Council of Nice. The earlier fathers had written much in explanation and defence of the Christian religion, but none had attempted a continued history of the Church through the vicissitudes of alternate persecution and peace, heretical discussions, fanatical zeal, and steadfast faith which, from the beginning, had marked her progress. By the countless multitudes of historians who have followed his footsteps Eusebius has been generally received as their undisputed, undoubted voucher for the first three centuries of Church life. By common consent he is accredited the father of ecclesiastical history.

This verdict of ages, at once so honourable and uniform, we would not wantonly impeach. We owe him a debt of gratitude, great beyond expression, for the preservation of many extracts from authors whose works are lost. He copied much from early and contemporary writers, and nearly all the originals are lost. Eusebius lived at the period when the Church was coming out of her great tribulation, wasted by fierce persecution, torn by factions,

sects, and heresies without number; and when she ascended the throne of the Cæsars, invested with imperial power. But in this day of her exaltation she had to encounter trials infinitely more searching and disastrous than those of the deepest and darkest depression. In this eventful transition period lived our historian, the effacing hand of time had not erased the choicest records of the past, which subsequent historians laboured in vain to restore or decipher. The treasures of all recorded history were open to him, and writers of every age, those present or past, waited as willing servitors to lend their contributions to enrich his pages. Had he possessed the patience to sift the wheat from the chaff; the discrimination to separate fables from facts; the power of discernment in regard to the heresies and sects which were continually surging up; had he faithfully delineated the mysterious character of Constantine the Great, then we might have known whether to have execrated him as a bloody tyrant, or admired him as a Christian prince, graciously leading forth the people of God out of their captivity, and establishing them in the enjoyment of the most enlarged liberty. Had he employed his learning and industry to produce a just, impartial, discriminating history of the Church, how deservedly, then would our historian have won for himself in all the earth the honoured title which now, with questionable propriety, he receives, of the Father of Ecclesiastical History. With deference to the verdict of ages, we must pronounce our author deficient in the essential elements of an original reliable historian. We are not the first to attempt to disturb this verdict, for Epiphanius, Athanasius, Antipater of Bostra, Jerome, and others in remote and more recent times, have subjected his works to severe and searching criticism. But the most able and thorough search has been conducted by Joseph Scaliger. For this service he was eminently qualified, both by his vast and varied learning and his amazing powers of memory, which enabled him to contrast and compare the writings of Eusebius with all the remains of history, legend, and fable out of which Eusebius hastily gathered his crude and incongruous compilations.

We cannot follow Scaliger at length in his "animadversions," "annotations," and criticisms upon the works of Eusebius. Nor can we dwell upon the historian's wholesale plagiarism from his countryman Africanus in his Chronicon. We can only cite a few of the instances given by the great critic of the proved blunders of Eusebius. His examples of carelessness and anachronisms are many and gross. The death of Herod the Great he dates seven years after it actually occurred. The Essenes, a sect of the Jews, he states to be an order of christian monks. The authority of Jesephus he so carelessly cites as to represent him as saying that the priests, in the temple, in the time of our Lord's crucifixion,

perceived certain commotions in the temple, and a rushing sound as of something hastily passing by them, and then a sudden exclamation—"Let us depart hence!" Whereas Josephus relates this of events thirty years after, at the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem.

The prepossessions of Eusebius in favour of Prelacy come out very distinctly. He himself is a bishop at an age when prelacy had changed, and totally corrupted the Church as established by the apostles. That pigment of prelatic pride and ghostly tyranny had already been established, the clergy had become a mediatorial priesthood between God and man, and the germs of all the superstition which constitute Ultramontanism, are accredited by the authority and approbation of Eusebius. We are asked to receive, on the dicta of this historian, the statement that the apostle Peter went to Rome to cast down the statue of Simon Magus. That the Apostle ever visited Rome is not proven, and that he went there (that is, supposing he did go) for such a purpose is not supported by a tittle of evidence. Then we have a curious account of the origin of Mark's gospel. So wonderfully did the "splendour" of Peter's piety enlighten the Romans, that they persevered with various entreaties to Mark to write out all that Peter had said. (See Book ii. c. 14). It is too much to ask us to believe that the gospel by Mark is but a legend of the public ministration of even the apostle Peter. The story in Book vi. c. 29, of the election of Fabianus to the episcopal office by the "dove flying suddenly down from on high and sitting upon his head like that of the Holy Spirit descending upon our Saviour in the form of a dove," which scene moved the whole assembly to place him upon the episcopal throne, shows how easy a victim of superstition he was. The intercession of the saints is another of the popish delusions of Eusebius. In Books vi., vii. and viii., we have instances of this. Potamiaena, on being led forth to her death by Basilides, promises in return for his kindness "to intercede for him with her Lord, and it would not be long before he would reward him for his kindly treatment towards her;" accordingly three days after her martyrdom she stood before him in the night, and placed upon his head a crown, and said that she had intreated the Lord on his behalf, and had obtained her prayer, and ere long she would take him with her; on this he was baptized, and became a martyr himself. The erection of tombs and churches in honour of saints and martyrs, the wonders wrought at the churches of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and of the Nativity at Bethany, are detailed as matters of the gravest importance, whilst his gravity in relating what were unquestionably pious frauds, or instances of overweening credulity, impeach his authority as an historian. He is most imperturbable while he tells of saintly persons drinking

deadly poison and not injured, of lions, leopards, and bears, by a miracle, not touching those who were thrust in to them. He also even dwells approvingly upon the "twin philosophy" of monasticism and celibacy. The "virgius fillet" ennobles, his panegyrics are high-flown upon men and women "who fly the world," and lead lives as opposed to nature as to the teaching of Holy Scripture. Baptismal regeneration is clearly taught by Eusebius. The lapsed are purified by baptism. They are "washed and purified from the filth of their old impure lives." Baptism is "the seal of immortality." Absolution is another efficacious grace of the sacraments when a morsel of sacramental bread absolves Serapion, a dying penitent. After remaining three days speechless, on the fourth he recovers a little, and says to his grandchild: "O son, how long do you detain me? Call one of the presbyters to me." He becomes speechless again. It was night, and the presbyter was sick, but "he gave the boy a small portion of the eucharist, telling him to dip it in water and to drop it in the mouth of the old man. The boy returned with the morsel; when he came near, before he entered, Serapion having recovered himself, said: "Thou has come, but the presbyter would not come. But do thou quickly what thou art commanded, and dismiss me." The boy moistened the bread, put it into the old man's mouth, and he having swallowed it, expired. Was he not spared until he was absolved by the eucharist, and his sins washed away, and he acknowledged as a believer?" This sort of thing is given us as history; why, it is hardly exceded by the most extravagant legends and lying impostures of the papacy itself.

The credulity of Eusebius is utterly invincible. Nothing, however incredible, transcends his belief. The flames "form a well like an oven around the body of Polycarp, unable to consume it," but give off a "fragrant odour like the fumes of incense, or some other precious aromatic drug;" and when the executioner plunged his sword into the body of the martyr, such a quantity of blood gushed forth that the fire was extinguished. "When the body of Apphinnus, a noble youth, was cast into the sea, suddenly a loud and uncommon crashing sound pervaded, not only the sea, but the whole surrounding heavens, so that the earth and the whole city was shaken by it; and at the same time the body of the martyr was cast by the sea before the gates of the city, as if unable to bear it." The exaggerated representations and distorted features which our historian everywhere gives of events and characters sadly detract from his merits, and often leave us in total uncertainty respecting the truth of his narrative. Constantine, the pious Emperor of our worthy bishop, who labours for language adequately to set forth the exalted religious character of his sovereign; Constantine, this pattern of piety, "the meekest,

gentlest, and most benevolent of men," whose character shone with all the graces of religion, "was the murderer of his most pious son, Crispus Cæsar, resembling his father in all things." He was the murderer of his own wife, Fausta, "the daughter, wife, sister, and mother of so many princes." He put to death Maximian, his father-in-law, and Licinius, the husband of his sister. The stern jealousy of Constantine was unmoved by the prayers and tears of his favourite sister, pleading for the life of her son, whose rank was his only crime, and whose loss she did not long survive. It is difficult to estimate the real character of Constantine. He was a bloody man, of mean and merciless jealousy; and if at heart a Christian, there is room to call any one by that high and honourable name. But this is the rhaspody of his panegyrist: "When I raise my thoughts to the arch of heaven, and there contemplate his thrice blessed soul in communion with God Himself, freed from any mortal and earthly vesture, and shining in a refulgent robe of light; and when I perceive that it is no more connected with fleeting periods and occupations of mortal life, but honoured with an ever blooming crown, and an immortality of endless and blessed existence I stand as if I were entranced, and deprived of all power of utterance; and so, while I condemn my own weakness, I impose silence on myself, I resign the task of speaking his praises worthily to one who is better able, even to Him who alone has the power, being the immortal God, the Word, to confirm the truth of his own sayings."

Making due allowance for the corrupt rhetorical taste of those times, still, when Eusebius becomes so bewildered by what the Emperor did, not for pure spiritual Christianity, but for the outward forms of religion, as to ascribe to the purest motives of piety the tyranny that would not brook a rival, and that was disgraced by the meanest acts of jealousy, revenge and murder; when he sees the tyrant going, under "a divine inspiration," to a war waged only by selfish and sinister motives, and sees him ascend from scenes of carnage and murder thrice blessed to the throne of all purity, we must withhold from him all confidence as an historian, and all respect as the reputed father of Ecclesiastical History.

Condensed from *Bibliotheca Sacra.*

ART. VI.—THE DIVINE IN NATURE.

IN the following remarks we have not astronomised so much as we have moralised on an astronomical basis. We do not give the dry physics or the dryer metaphysics of the subject; but a few of what may be called philosophico-religious thoughts upon it. And these, like the stars themselves, as relatively viewed, will be presented in a scattered rather than in a systematical form.

The material universe is a text which we think may safely be divided into more inhabited worlds than one. Into how many must be left with him who telleth the number of the stars, and seeth in their mighty host a shadow of his own immensity, a beam of his own glory. Our universe, however, mighty as it is, may be spoken of as God's atom. But it is an atom which is infinitely divisible. For what "watcher" ever stood upon the wall,

> "Whose battlements look o'er into the vale
> Of non-existence, nothing's strange abode?"

Lift up your eyes on high, then, and behold! What a sight! The magnitude and the magnificence are indeed astounding! How the eye aches, and how the reason reels! A problem this never to be solved in this world. A profundity this which baffles the longest of *our* fathoming lines. A glory this almost enough to excuse the sabianism of those "grey forefathers" of our race who looked up at it from the plains of an earlier world. A music this to "reason's ear" that awes with the majesty and delights with the sweetness of its strains. A mathematics this to delight with the simplicity of its principles, and yet to confound with the sweep of its "golden compasses." An architecture this, to produce speechlessness, on the one hand, at the grandeur of its plan, and on the other, at the exquisite perfection of its finish. In fine, a hand-writing on the wall this, to give us "the pale cast of thought," and to make us look hard for the fingers that trace the burning lines; and yet, withal, a beauty and an enchantment which prompted the noble sentiment of the poet—

> "Who ever looked upon them shining,
> And turned to earth without repining;
> Nor wished for wings to flee away,
> And mix with their eternal ray?"

But be a thing never so grand and marvellous, our familiarity with it is apt to breed, if not contempt exactly, yet that spirit of *nil admirari* so great in little souls and so dwarfing to great ones. No man is a hero to his *valet de chambre*. And not exactly, as

Goethe has it, because the valet is no hero-worshipper, but naturally because the feeling of familiarity becomes too strong for the sentiment of hero-worship. At the same time the following distinction is to be borne in mind, namely: That, whereas familiarity always breeds contempt in little minds, it sometimes breeds the very opposite in great ones. Nay, there are *very* philosophic persons who would tell us that if we allow the mere circumstance of commonness to blunt the edge of our sensibility, it is because our souls themselves are common. This inference they find, we suppose, and perhaps legitimately, in the great principle that the eye always sees what it has the power to see;—nothing more, nothing less. "If the stars," says one, "should appear once in a thousand years, how would men believe and adore, and preserve for many generations the remembrance of the city of God which had been shown? But every night come out these preachers of beauty and light the universe with their admonishing smile." Once in a thousand years! In *that* case the phenomenon would be considered divine and miraculous, as was the Pillar of Fire in the wilderness, and the visible glory that symbolised the divine presence in tabernacle and temple. But is this sublime vision *less* a shekinah because it opens to us every night instead of every thousand years? Till such time as science shall tell us how the stars at first got, and how they still get, their glory, we shall consider ourselves justified, both by faith and philosophy, in regarding that glory as a veritable shekinah. When the divine fiat at first flashed along the immensities, lighting them up with suns and systems, and as far as creative power could reach, turning darkness into light, and the shadow of death into morning, did not seraphim and cherubim spontaneously cry aloud, "A shekinah! a shekinah! a new glory of God! a fresh manifestation (objectivization) of his adorable perfections!" In this case, what could the natural laws—whatever these then were—have done without the fiat? Nay, what can the natural laws *now* do without the fiat? Does the earth—does the universe—hang upon nothing? How is nature possible without a super-nature? Could the material exist apart from the spiritual? Is the paint that touches the visible into all the wonders of colour and form laid upon nothing? It is mathematically true that we never see anything more than surface—that we never touch anything more than outside. Is this mere sense-realisation, then, the measure of the all? Does a gorgeous phenomenism, hanging *itself* as a fortuitous aurora in the immensities around us, coming and going to each of us like a mirage of the desert, meet the whole of our wants and make the whole of our fortune? "Nature," says one, "is but a beautiful veil, like the pictured hangings of a tent—the *realities* are beyond." To this we say,

Amen. Meanwhile, feeling all that is within us, whether of faith or of philosophy, to set but a small estimate on "the pictured hangings," and to exclaim, with all the ardour of a rational hope, based upon an instinctive affection—

"Beyond the veil! beyond the veil!"

We feel that we must either have a whole faith or no faith at all; a whole God or no God at all; and if a whole God, then a God that is all in all. Thus, to us, the natural stands upon the supernatural, and is but an outer court of a one-temple not made with hands, whose maker and builder is God.

Long ages of speculative, and a few of inductive philosophy, have passed over our race, and culminated in the present wonderful advancement of physical science; and yet what more do we know, on mere natural grounds, about the beginning, the essence, or the end of anything under the sun, than our less favoured because less experimentalising forefathers themselves knew? Do we, for example, any more know the ultimate rationale of the sun's shining to-day than we know whence and how he shone forth on the first day of his existence, when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy to see him rise "in all his round of rays complete," and girded about with strength as a giant to run a race? From hour to hour, and from generation to generation, he throws abroad his light and heat with royal profusion; warming with life and crowning with glory the many worlds which circle around the secret place of his thunder. He looketh at this hour as much "every inch a king" as he did on his coronation-day, when they put the nimbus about his head, and gave him a universal kingdom. Whence *come* his light and heat? What their *fons et origo?* and what *are* they? How is it that the supply is never for one moment stopped nor diminished? Why does "the eye and soul of this great world" never grow dim with age, nor forget on solitary occasion either to open at all, or to open rather late, those "eyelids of the morning" which look forth as a bridegroom from his chamber?

A century and a half ago, as appears from his *Philosophical Essays*, the subject of sun-beams and star-beams greatly puzzled good Dr. Watts; more especially did he find it difficult to deal with the question of supply—only escaping the sad conclusion that the sun is exhausting himself, and on the way to "universal midnight and desolation," by having recourse to the influence of a divine power directly exerted to obviate so appalling a catastrophe. "If there be a world, there is a God; if there be a sun or stars, every ray points to their Creator." Yes, good doctor, and *comes* from him too. In the presence of such fundamental questions as puzzled Dr. Watts, our Newtons, our Humboldts, and our Herschels themselves, feel at once all their own littleness and all

the greatness of nature; laying their hand upon their mouth and adopting the self-deprecating sentiment of the prophet, "Ah, Lord God, behold I cannot speak, for I am a child!" Their science, at its best estate, is but "a learned ignorance," and the highest expression of their wisdom the confession of Socrates—"I only know that I know nothing;" the true state of the matter being, "Now we see through a glass darkly; now we know in part, and prophesy in part." A humiliating fact this confessed nescience, whether as regards the what and the whence of things in general, or of the solar light and heat in particular; very humiliating and very significant indeed. Significant, among other things of the truth, or truism rather, that "physical" is not an exhaustive term; but that the natural stands upon the supernatural; these two great factors of the universe, as we know it, so shading and melting into each other as to render it impossible to say where the one ends and the other begins. Yea, the very sun-beams, which once showed that there is music as well as "sermons in stones," by striking it out of the Memnonium—do photograph on every world that emits or reflects their glory the never-to-be-ignored superscription of *natural-supernatural*, and wondrously evolve, by the magic of their stroke, that music of the spheres which ever sings louder or fainter "as the mind is pitched" to hear it—

"The hand that made (and makes) us is Divine."

If God at one time said "Let there be light;" who says that *now?* It is easier to ascribe light simply to law, than it is to know what either light or law really is. Law is not the cause, but the mode of operation, in the processes of the material world. Beyond the physical casualty lies the efficient, which alone is cause, properly and strictly so called. The self-evident inefficiency and passivity of matter forbids our attributing anything like the principle of power or force to *it*. A modern writer, whose view is worthy of all acceptation, says: "Our conception of a cause we believe to be derived from consciousness, that tells us we have the faculty of beginning motion or producing an effect. We cannot understand how the idea can be obtained from examples in nature, when there is in reality no activity in such processes, and no power in these supposed factors. By the dynamical argument it can be proved that there is no positive energy in physical phenomena, considered in themselves; there is therefore no positive causation in any department of nature or any element of matter. The definition which we propose, of a material cause and effect, is *an antecedent and consequent, under a constant affinity.*" Those modern speculatists, and they are many, who make the natural all, and the supernatural nothing; whose God is impersonal, and whose Bible is science as interpreted by themselves, would do well to

ponder the following remarks by the late Sir John Herschel, who was at all events a *philosopher*. The excellence of the quotation must be our apology for its length. This great man says: "Whatever attempts may have been made by metaphysical writers to reason away the connection of cause and effect, and fritter it down into the unsatisfactory relation of habitual sequence, it is certain that the conception of some more real and intimate connection is quite as strongly impressed upon the human mind as that of the existence of an external world—the vindication of whose reality has (strange to say) been regarded as an achievement of no common merit in the annals of this branch of philosophy. It is our own immediate consciousness of *effort*, when we exert force to put matter in motion, or to oppose and neutralize force, which gives us this internal conviction of *power* and *causation*, so far as it refers to the material world, and compels us to believe that whenever we see material objects put in motion from a state of rest, or deflected from their rectilinear paths, and changed in their velocities if already in motion, it is in consequence of such an EFFORT *somehow* exerted, though not accompanied with *our* consciousness. That such an effort should be exerted with success through an interposed space is no more difficult to conceive than that our hand should communicate motion to a stone, with which it is *demonstrably not in contact*. All bodies with which we are acquainted, when raised into the air and quietly abandoned, descend to the earth's surface in lines perpendicular to it. They are therefore urged thereto by a force or effort, the direct or indirect result of a *consciousness* and a *will* existing *somewhere*, though beyond our power to trace, which force we term *gravity*." The same powerful writer, speaking of Brown "On Cause and Effect," says it is "a work of great acuteness and subtlety of reasoning on some points, but in which the whole train of argument is vitiated by one enormous oversight; the omission, namely, of a *distinct and immediate personal consciousness of causation* in his enumeration of that *sequence of events* by which the volition of the mind is made to terminate in the motion of material objects. I mean the consciousness of *effort*, as a thing entirely distinct from mere *desire* or *volition* on the one hand, and from mere spasmodic contraction of muscles on the other." When Sir Isaac Newton found gravitation, he simply found a *power;* a power operating according to certain determinate rules or fixed laws, which rules his high mathematical genius enabled him to demonstrate, but could not enable him to determine what THAT was which ruled. It is not for mathematics, nor for metaphysics either, to determine that; but for *common sense*. "Show us the Father and it sufficeth us." Show us the soul and it sufficeth us. What was Sir Isaac Newton's answer when some people asked him what was gravitation? They said: "We cannot

touch it; we cannot see it; we cannot smell it; we cannot taste it; we cannot hear it; what is gravitation?" "I do not know;" was the reply. "I do not dogmatize; but I believe that God acts on the universe." And so believed, or rather knew, him who says, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being." "My God," Archbishop Whately in substance somewhere says, "is the God of the Old Hebrews, who is in some way actually present everywhere, directing and controlling everything." This, no doubt, is the true view of the case; and to this view, as thought advances, we shall more and more come. Philosophy, rightly so called, never contradicts the Bible; and philosophy, as far as its lights go, would seem to be completely at one with the Bible on the point before us; a point, by the way, which the Bible alone is competent infallibly to determine. That God acts directly on the universe, appears, as far as we know, to have been maintained by the greatest minds in all ages of the world, and by the two greatest of the Greeks among the rest. "How is it possible," asks Plato, speaking of the earth, "for so prodigious a mass to be carried round for so long a time by any natural cause? For this reason I assert God to be the cause, and that it is *impossible it should be otherwise.*" "Everything that is moved," says Aristotle, "must of necessity be moved by that which is moved by some other thing; and that thing must be moved either by another or not by another thing. If it be moved by that which is moved by another, we must of necessity come to some prime mover that is not moved by another. For it is impossible that what moves, and is moved by another, shall proceed *ad infinitum.*" Thus it is plainly denied by both of these thinkers that matter has in and of itself a principle of motion; and maintained that it can act only when it is acted upon—all mere matter being alike in this respect. We live, then, not in a temple with *Ichabod* inscribed upon it, but in one whose very stones, radiant with the presence of the God, cry out of the wall that He is, and that there is none other than He!

> "Lo, God is here, let us adore,
> And own how dreadful is this place."

Nay, as one says, "Our whole life, like the Egyptian god with his finger on his lips, should be consecrated to astonished silence." Oh! for a little more of the spirit of such men as Pascal and Boyle, not to mention others, in whom the sentiment of God was so strong as well nigh to amount to an immanent sensation, like that of life itself!

With philosophic wisdom and profound suggestiveness, it has been said, in reference to the material system, that *conservation* is perpetual *creation.* Why did not the pillar of cloud in the wilderness disperse and vanish away like other clouds? Every morning, there it was; more proof against sun and wind than granite itself.

And how did this pillar of cloud kindle into a pillar of fire every evening? What cooked the manna? and what antiseptic prevented the putrefaction of the potful that was laid up before the Testimony, to be kept? "And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan!" There are people, however, who have eaten it (in the form of bread) longer than that, without once thinking of him

> "Who makes the grass the hills adorn,
> And clothes the smiling fields with corn."

One thinks that such a forgetfulness could hardly be in creatures of reason and religious sense. When Moses stood on the "holy ground," before the burning bush, he was astonished that it should burn, and yet not consume. Do we never wonder why a sun or a star should burn, and yet not consume? When the widow of Zarephath kept going to her barrel of meal that did not waste, and to her cruise of oil that did not fail, did she not, think you, well know and well feel the reason-why of such a marvellous phenomenon? But we ourselves have a barrel of meal that does not waste, and a cruise of oil that does not fail. Do *we* ever ponder the reason-why of such a marvellous phenomenon? The widow herself, however, we can easily imagine, might lose sight of the *miracle* through the very continuity and commonness of the circumstance. And do not we ourselves but too well know that it is neither more nor less than our familiarity with the phenomenon of nature that makes us forget the miracle of nature?

Conservation is creation. So said Descartes; and so thought Jonathan Edwards, who somewhere illustrates the manner in which God sustains the universe, by the way in which an image is upheld in a mirror. "That image is maintained by a continual flow of rays of light, each succeeding pencil of which does not differ from that by which the image was at first produced. He conceives that the universe is, in every part of it, supported in a similar way by a continual succession of acts of the Divine will, and these not differing from that which at first caused the world to spring into existence." This view, however, of God's so intimate connection with his material works is not held by all philosophical theologians. And although, in our humble opinion, it is the true view, yet we would by no means obstinately dogmatize on the matter. We know the paucity of human knowledge, and the insufficiency of the human intellect, too well for that. The Rev. George Steward, author of that magnificent work, "Mediatorial Sovereignty," says, speaking on the problem of how far the Divine Being interferes with the operation of natural laws: "It is a nice question, and is frequently stated in a way degrading to the

Divine Omnipotence. I believe that God, having made the laws, leaves them to their own operation altogether; that He does not interfere further; *that* is enough for matter, it is but the outwork of the real creation. MAN is the being in whom he really concerns himself. When a creature is responsible, and the subject of government, you see in how different a relation he stands. This is the doctrine of the psalm, 'Thou knowest my thoughts.'" Does He not then "really concern Himself" with anything but man? Who looseth the bands of Orion, clothes the grass of the field, hears the young ravens when they cry, and hangeth the earth upon nothing? No doubt, "He knoweth our thoughts;" but who telleth the number of the stars, calling all of them by their names, and leading forth their host, so that not one of them faileth? Who weigheth the mountains in scales, and the hills as in a balance? Who maketh a poise for the winds? and of whom is it spoken, that even a sparrow falleth not to the ground without *Him*? But the same able writer elsewhere deprecates the idea of the works of nature being at all other than literally and absolutely the works of God. "'The works of nature,'" he says, "is a most absurd phrase; by a paraphrasis making the work into a workman." "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," is an expression which seems to point to an immanent universal Divine activity. The Divine utterer of these remarkable words says, in another place, speaking of the corn: "It groweth up ye know not how;" thus apparently suggesting the existence of a hidden agency concerned in the ordinary processes of nature, and not realizable to human thought.

But the question of the divine connexion with and operancy in the phenomena of nature is clearly a transcendental one, and like the God-side of things in general, not possible to be dealt with by "our philosophy." Wherever the element of the infinite presents itself,—(and where does it *not*?)—we feel at once how impotent we are, and how utterly inadequate to find out God *unto* perfection; whether searched for in his worlds or in his atoms. The following broad sentiments of Dr. M'Cosh coincide exactly with our own views. He says: "In order to prove that God is closely connected with his works in nature, it is not needful to determine what is his precise causal connexion with events which have also second causes in the heaven-endowed properties of created substances. Does God co-exist and co-operate with every natural cause, the two being united to form one cause? Or do the natural antecedents themselves form the whole cause, being linked to the will of God only so far as they are the distant effect of that will, as the first great cause of all things? So far from being inclined to answer those questions in a dogmatic way, we are not even convinced that these two exhaust the possible methods

which God may employ in conducting his works, or that there may not be a third or a fourth way, all available to God, and this whether conceivable or inconceivable by man." At the same time Dr. M'Cosh holds the opinion which we ourselves advocate. For he says, "No one will affirm that an everywhere present and an Almighty God could not conduct his administration on such a plan (a plan of immanent personal agency). Several considerations may be urged in support of it." He adds, however, what is quite true, namely, that "The human mind is discussing subjects beyond its capacity when determining the precise causal connexion of God, as the first cause, with the second causes which he has ordained. Unsolved and unsolvable questions present themselves when we push our inquiries beyond a certain limit. How does he inhabit all space? How does he inhabit the same space which seems to be filled with matter? What is the precise nature of the Divine volitions? What in particular is the nature of the continual acts of the will, by which, according to Edwards, the universe is sustained in every part of it? These inquiries carry us into depths into which the schoolmen would have rushed with eagerness, to swim or sink to no purpose, but which we have truly no sounding lines to fathom." As it is with respect to the Christ of God, so it is with respect to the cosmos of God; while both are undeniably full of God, it is no less true that both are undeniably full of the *hidden* God. Both are divine facts, but nevertheless both are insoluble mysteries. In short, the pyschology of Christ, and the philosophy of creation, may be designated as a double-star of mystery of the first magnitude in our intellectual firmament. But though the speculative entirely breaks down in these lofty themes, yet, thank heaven! the practical comes graciously to our aid; for Christ is a Saviour to the uttermost, that will never fail us; and creation a preacher eloquent to the uttermost, that will ever tell us of eternal power and Godhead. The line of mystery necessarily grows darker the nearer it approaches to personal deity, and as necessarily loses itself in that alpha and omega to speculative thought, the unthinkable INFINITE. But a precious truth meets us here. If the line of natural mystery removes God to an infinite distance away from us, it is equally true that the line of supernatural love brings him intimately nigh to us. The stars of the sky may be far off and cold; but the star of Bethlehem is near and full of comforting warmth. That old story of the sneering infidel and the Christian countryman never loses its interest. "Is thy God a great one or a little one?" was the contemptuous question. "He is so great that the heaven of heavens cannot contain him; and he is so little that he can dwell in my heart," was the confounding reply.

One of the leading characteristics of our age is this; that, whereas science is at its maximum, theology is at its minimum. To such an extent is our theological thought modified and minified by the dominance which physical inquiry has obtained over us, that we seldom hear of anything but the laws of nature. In the higher circles of thought it would be treason to mention any other principle. What then, is the definition of the laws of nature? What is understood by a physical law? Does it possess any substantive existence, or exert an independent agency? By no means. A law conceived *per se*, or apart from material bodies, is an abstraction, a mere *ens rationis*. This, however, being only the definition of a law *apart* from actual nature, perhaps a definition is asked for of the laws of nature *in* nature. Now, as these laws possess no objective existence, nor exist or operate of themselves, they are so far from constituting independent factors, that they exert no causal influence whatever, nor in fact stand for anything in the great external economy of the universe, but are simply regulative principles of thought, which the mind itself conceives and projects to help it to a logical and self-consistent idea of nature, whose phenomena would otherwise appear to the logical imagination as effects without causes, or as a series of sequences with nothing to sustain, nothing to connect them one with another, and each with all. To illustrate our meaning: The regulative principle of natural law is, as it were, the string provided by philosophic thought for nature to hang her beads upon. When pure reason had grown tired of searching for the philosopher's stone, she sets to work to weave the philosopher's thread of regulative ideas. With this regulative principle she works wonders which her more realistic and less theoretical sister, common sense, is apt to regard sometimes with a suspicious eye. Moses with his divinely potent rod did things which were *real;* and the magicians we are told "did likewise with their enchantments;" did things which were *seemingly* real. Now, when regulative ideas are made, and dignified with the imposing name of natural laws, something *seemingly* real is done; although that something at the bottom, is nothing but an illusion *pur et simple.* It is the witchcrafts, we fear, of "pure reason," which, on some occasions cause our purer common sense to disclaim affinity with that aristocratic and too arrogant faculty of the mind. When the natural laws, however, are looked upon simply as subjective or regulative principles of thought, no harm arises; but when the exact truth is forgotten, as it is too apt to be, and they are regarded as substantive objectivities, it is then that harm comes; then, we have a soul of the world, and nature as a self-acting mechanism; the logical consequence of which principles is pantheism and atheism. But our limits will not allow us to discuss the matter fully.

The view which we hold on this vexed and difficult question is briefly this: The laws of nature *in* nature are simply the order of nature; manifestations of power and modes of operation. They are merely the experiments of the principle and order in which changes occur and phenomena proceed. "They are indicators and not agents, and have no power of causation over the facts to which they refer. Gravitation is not a binding influence which maintains the stability or excites the motions of the heavenly bodies. There is no intervening element of this kind which unites or impels them. It only exhibits the manner in which the motions of bodies are regulated by a superior power." We might as well say that an algebraic symbol has a physical existence as affirm such an existence of a natural law. When Hume disturbed the idea of active causation in matter, and reduced all to mere sequence—that is, to a relation simply of antecedent and consequent, he imagined that he had given a fatal blow to the idea of a First Cause itself. But, in reality, he furnished a powerful argument for such a cause. That one sequence, the universe, hangs upon nothing. No, on nothing *but* God. Antecedence and consequence are all. Yes, all *but* the divine nexus that connects them. One remark here. It is this: that God as cause, is *sui generis*. "I am He, and besides Me there is none else." Hume, Kant, Shelley, and more recently Holyoake, have contended that God, as cause, must himself be caused. But the fallacy lies in the improper conception of cause. "A first cause and an intermediate cause are two different things. The latter is a secondary or dependent cause, and may occur in a line of sequences where a number are linked together in the progress of events. They are called causes for the sake of expressing certain rules in common life, as well as in scientific demonstrations, although it is well understood that they are not original causes. A first cause, on the other hand, is an independent agency, a power sufficient of itself, and proceeding from nothing higher or anterior. If we ask a cause for this, we change its nature, and degrade it to the rank of a second cause." Thus, it clearly appears that the mere definition of a first cause is a sufficient answer to the sceptical objection. Before leaving this drier part of our subject we would just remark that the correlation and unity of physical forces is now the doctrine of science. An exhaustive analysis has left us two fundamental principles, namely, the idea of *Force* on the one hand, and the *Oneness* of forces on the other. But what force *is*, who can scientifically say? What is it—what *can* it be—but God working?—a manifestation of him who upholdeth all things by the word of his *power*? *What* the real connection of God with his works is, we do not pretend to know; but *that* there is such a connexion we feel fully convinced. As before remarked, if we have a God at all we must have a God who is all in all.

> "Philosophy that leaned on heaven before,
> Shrinks to her second cause and is no more.
> Physic of metaphysic begs defence,
> And metaphysic calls for aid on sense!
> See mystery to mathematics fly,
> *In vain!*"

What we hold to is this: There *is* such a thing as power, which we need take no metaphysical excursion to find. It is in our mouth and in our heart; for it is an intuitional perception of the mind which *will* present itself; a necessary belief of the man, which he finds it *impossible* to do away with; an indispensable principle in philosophy, which *cannot* be done without. The notion of power is an integral element of our mental constitution; and neither thought nor speech could proceed a single step but on its assumption. To deny the objective existence of power is to deny a first principle of reasoning; and he who will deny first principles is not to be reasoned with. In a word, power may be said to belong to our very consciousness. Power, then, is a general principle, applicable, of course, to particular phenomena. There is power in nature; power connected with all its ongoings. The natural laws show this. Every pulsation of universal life, every line of universal order, and every step in the march of universal movement, show this. But subjective ideas, we are told, do not necessarily imply objective existences. According to this the natural laws are *merely* regulative ideas—there being nothing of power in nature answering to the laws. We hold that there is. Not, however, a power *of* nature, but a power moulding, moving, directing, and controlling nature. Hume, for instance, tells us that the mind, with all its activity, can never go beyond its own operations; and that, therefore, we neither have nor can have any reason to believe in the existence of nature, and laws of nature,—to believe the existence of an external world, for example. But this is manifestly a conclusion which his principles do not warrant. Though the mind never goes beyond its operations any more than the oyster beyond its shell, we may have abundant reason to believe in the existence of things outward; in nature and its sequences; and in objective power manifesting itself by means of natural laws, which are the rules of its operancy; for this belief is an operation of the mind, and we may have just as good reason to perform *it* as to perform any other. But metaphysics are a "dry light;" we must, therefore, try to get on to something more palpable and satisfactory.

There is no power in anything but mind. There is no power anywhere out of mind. Mind is the grand centre and source of all power, properly so called. Power is invisible, silent, and known only by its effects. It is astonishing how little to-do is made in the carrying on of "this stupendous whole." The great

power of God has no need to send a trumpet on before to proclaim its majesty. The divine is always modest and unobtrusive. The stars shine without making any noise over it. When God makes the light, and "far round illumines" the face of day, we *hear* nothing. What so potent as lightning? yet how silent! The flash that touches the mountains and they smoke, "graving the thunder scar" on their granite brows, makes less noise than a fly. The power that dwelt in Moses's rod was as silent as the rod itself. The Pillar of Fire shining for forty years in the wilderness was as silent as the eyelids of the morning, which are themselves as silent as the God that opens them. We make quite a mistake if we estimate power by the stir it makes. The thunder, it is true, makes a great noise, but it is the lightning that *strikes*. Is God less real because we do not *see* him? Has the electric fluid no existence till it develops and reveals itself in the visibility of the flash? Is God less real because we do not *hear* him? Do the heavens declare the glory of God any the less because they do it silently? Is God less real because we do not perceive him by the senses? It is not the function of ideas to give sensations, but emotions. Space and duration are not less existent, or less infinite, because they have no sensible affinity with our physiologies. Does the hedge of a fleshly mechanism, which shuts us up from God, shut him also out from the universe? The cognitive perceptions of the mind, are not to be confounded with the sensitive experiences of the body. The five senses, indeed! These may be the measure in some sort of the little universe; but in no sort are they the measure of the great universe. The microcosm is the material; the macrocosm is the all. The five senses, with even a possible sixth added to them, the measure of God's great infiniteness! Why, they are not the measure even of our own little finiteness! The physical cannot manipulate the metaphysical, nor the mathematical circumscribe the moral. Theology, like every other science, has principles and evidences specifically and exclusively its own. The things of sense stand on one foundation, the things of God upon another. The things that are seen stand principally on granite; but the things that are not seen stand on something older than granite, for "the things that not seen are eternal." Besides, what does granite stand upon? The old Hindoo cosmology had to the tortoise, which supported the elephant, which supported the world! The modern European sense-philosophy has to the fire-mist, which, hardened into granite, supports the protoplasm, which is the father and the mother—the beginning, the essence, and the end of us all! Which, now, is the better foundation—the "tortoise," which stands upon thin air, or, maybe, luminiferous ether; or the "fire mist," which stands upon nothing? Is thy poor soul, O my brother, looking wistfully

out of this ocean-tossed bark of life, abroad upon the dark waters, and praying for a glimpse of something she might rest the soles of her feet upon? How readest thou? "Behold! I lay in Zion a Stone." "*I!*" Here, then, we have a foundation which is better than all the philosophies in the world; and an ego on which all the egos and non-egos of the world do ultimately stand!

"I've sometimes thought," says the late Dr. Duncan, of Edinburgh, in that beautiful little book, *Colloquia Peripatetica*, "that God's greatest power is best seen in the most silent awakenings of the spirit of man. So it is in natural things; the daily course of the earth, silent and sure, with no jolt or start forwards; so in all our vital acts. God acts in all these directly. If our vital acts were in our own power, we should not live a moment; why should it be otherwise in the spiritual sphere, where the soul often awakens quietly at the touch of God?" Yes; God comes to man as silently as he comes to star, and stays as silently; the entrance of his power giving light to both, and making, each after its kind, a glory to dwell in. JABEZ COLE.

(To be concluded in November number.)

ART. VII.—CHRISTIAN ASSURANCE.

"For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."—Rom. viii. 38, 39.

PAUL penned these words on the mount of confidence, a position he often occupied. He lived much upon the uplands of Christian experience; and his footing was as firm as it was elevated. It was not a pinnacle or a precipice he was perched on, whence he was in peril of falling headlong, through giddiness or heedlessness. His foot-hold was broad and solid. The air he breathed was salubrious and wholesome; it did not throw him off guard, or render him incapable of the duties of his sphere of action, or destroy his sympathies with the living world surrounding him. There is an elevation of mind, a bastard confidence, that produces these unhappy results. We see something of it in one who said, "I shall never be moved. Lord, by thy favour thou hast made my mountain to stand strong; thou didst hide thy face and I was troubled." Ps. xxx. 6, 7. Another, in the same spirit of creature-trust, said, "I shall die in my nest, and I shall multiply my days as the sand." Job xxix. 18. Both these excellent men made false calculations, resting their confidence on unworthy

and unwarrantable grounds. Our apostle, equally jubilant with them, but better balanced, reposed not upon outward appearances, but on the love of Christ, and the love of God which is in Christ. From this standing ground he felt assured that nothing could shift him; neither fraud nor force could sever him from Christ, or dissolve the relationship in which he stood to God through Christ. Moreover, he speaks not only for himself, as if it were a privilege which high office procured for him. He includes the feeblest of his Christian brethren, and carries them with him in this same confidence of rejoicing. He says not, "I am persuaded that nothing shall be able to separate *me*," but, "I am persuaded that nothing shall be able to separate *us*." This is generous and catholic. This happy assurance did not contract his sympathies into selfishness; besides, were not shut up within the church. Cotemporary with his joy of assurance, there was a most painful solicitude exercised on behalf of his unconverted fellow-countrymen. The first three verses of the next chapter, penned, we presume, at the same sitting with our text, and closely following it, show an agonizing anxiety, which we would hardly have thought consistent or compatible with what immediately precedes. The mind of man has strange capacities; it can be glad and buoyant, and at the same time sad and depressed. Here is a problem for those who study mental phenomena. Passing this matter as lying out of our sphere, we bend our attention to the exposition of the section we have undertaken. Our first object will be to—

ASCERTAIN THE IMPORT OF THE EXPRESSION, "THE LOVE OF GOD."—This expression is ambiguous. It means one or both of two things. "The love of God" is his love to us, or our love to him. The contextual relations of these words in any given place determine their import in such place. The words may indicate a love of which God is the *subject*, a love which he cherishes towards his creatures, and which moves him to acts of kindness and favour on their behoof. This is his love, emphatically, as it is of him and in him, proceeding out of him and looking towards us. It is possible, however, that "the love of God" may mean a love of which he is the *object*. There is a love returning to him in the way of reflection from those whom he loves. This love frequently takes name, not from its agents or subjects, but from the person or object on whom it rests and to whom it is directed. This, though it is not God's love, may well enough be called the love of God. He stands in a causative relation to it as well. But the objective relation is sufficient to explain the cause. In which of these two ways it should be taken in the passage before us we are in no haste to decide. We will make quotations to illustrate the distinctions we have just indicated.

God's love to us is meant in the following passages: "But after

that the kindness and love of God towards man appeared," &c., Tit. iii. 4, &c. "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren," 1 John iii. 16. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen." 2 Cor. xiii. 14. "In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world that we might live through him," 1 John iv. 9. In these instances God is the subject—the person who loves.

Our love to God is meant in the passages following: "But woe unto you Pharisees, for ye tithe mint and rue and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment and the love of God," Luke xi. 42. "But I know you that ye have not the love of God in you," John v. 42. "For this is the love of God that we keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous," 1 John v. 3 "But whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him," 1 John iii. 17. In these citations God is the object loved, and human beings are the agents who love or ought to love him.

Candour inclines us to make the acknowledgment that it is difficult to determine whether the words in hand are to be understood subjectively or objectively. Commentators of different theological creeds adhere to the one or the other according to the schools of theology to which they respectively belong. Both sides speak plausibly too, and make out a sense which each party may look at with a degree of respect. We feel as if we should not dogmatise in this case, although we incline to the objective view. We will state both interpretations, and leave the matter to private judgment.

Take the *subjective* interpretation—then the sense is, that outward circumstances leave God's love to us in its full strength. He will not desert us because we fall into trouble or poverty, or under persecution and malignity. We may be hated of enemies and misconstrued of friends. Our familiars may shun us, and our very blood-relations turn cold towards us. But he remains the same. Through all vicissitude and liability he cleaves to his own. If they are afflicted, he is their companion in sickness. If they are imprisoned, he is not ashamed of their chain. If they suffer "nakedness," he loves and owns them in destitution. In peril he comes to their rescue, or makes their danger the means of transit to himself in heaven. Even the fires of martyrdom become as chariots and horses to convey them home. The "hurtful sword" is but the sharp instrument by which their mortal ties are severed that they may mount up to their native heaven. They are not separated from God's love. His purpose to save them never falters. Nor does he withhold the manifestations of his favour or withdraw

from them the secret enjoyments of his fellowship. It must be acknowledged that this view harmonizes with the general tenor of scripture, and is the subject of repeated promise on many a page of the sacred volume.

The *objective* interpretation is entitled to a respectful hearing. It is just as probable from the nature of the case that Paul's mind was exercised about his christian brethren holding fast their integrity. There was less to be apprehended as to the steadiness of God's love. Why should it be feared that he would cease to love his people, subject to persecution and ignominy for his sake, and struggling under reverses by himself appointed? To suppose such a thing carries in it the idea that his favour is as fickle and unreliable as that of men. This is hard, even in a supposition. We love our friends more when they suffer, especially when they suffer on our account, and do so cheerfully and voluntarily. The very supposition of God's love faltering under the sufferings of his people is withal improbable and harsh. Exposed to nakedness and peril, and poverty, as the early Christians were, their yielding under such pressure was a natural apprehension. Might they not be overcome and wearied out by repeated and persistent opposition? Might not the floods quench the ardour of their zeal, and the love of God in their breasts become extinct? We can more easily suppose a danger of men's love to God giving way under the weight of the world's frown than we can think of his love to them flinching on the same account. We freely acknowledge, however, that if Christians hold out in a course beset with such serious liabilities, the flame of their zeal must be kept alive by the oil of grace cast on it by an invisible hand. Only on this proviso could Paul cherish the confidence he here expresses. By the grace of God his people shall overcome and even triumph. A bare victory where the antagonists are so malignant and mighty, is a good point to gain. But more is to be hoped for. The scale shall not just be slightly cast in their favour, but weighed down in a decisive and emphatic manner. Saved by a hair's-breadth would be well, but it may be much better, and, in respect to many, it will be a more glorious salvation. All vigilant faithful soldiers of Christ shall more than barely win; a triumph is guaranteed to them; "Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us."

Another item demands notice:—"The love of God, *which is in Christ Jesus.*" The clause we have emphasized is in harmony with either of the foregoing interpretations. Viewed from the divine side, the love is in Christ Jesus. Although the Father's grace is the very spring-head of redeeming love, yet Christ Jesus is the medium and channel through which that love reaches men. A guilty world is loved through Jesus. The church collectively,

as well as each believer individually, is drawn to the Father, and kept in favour through the mediation of the Son. Viewed from the human side, the love is in Christ Jesus; apart from him we do not and cannot love God. The priestly office he stands in disarms our fears, and gives our love liberty to go out towards a Being, whom otherwise we could by no means approach. Leaving the two interpretations we have noticed, we pass on to—

THE ANTAGONIST FORCES SUPPOSED.—There is an artificial arrangement of them, about which the learned have more to say than we care to follow them in, it being more curious than useful. Still, it is undeniable that there is an orderly collocation of the words, similars and dissimilars being put into neighbourhood. Just as they stand in the translation, they fall into pairs and triads, or twos and threes, alternately. We begin with the first two—

"*Neither Death nor Life.*" Why should it not have been, neither life nor death? The customary and natural order is life and death. Death cannot be till life has first been. And in naming these two it is quite common to place life first. The apostle has done so in another passage, where he has a list of things, as here. "Whether Paul or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, *or life or death*, or things present, or things to come, all are yours." 1 Cor. iii. 22. So he says again, "To *live* is Christ, and to *die* is gain." Philip i. 21. The reversed order in our text was adopted, we think, in allusion to the cruel devices of persecutors, who threatened Christians with death, to make them abandon their religion, and promised them life on condition of abjuring their faith. The fear of death and the love of life were both made use of, the one to deter, the other to allure. This was a severe test, especially to young adherents of Christianity, and to such as were in the prime of life. To those who had reached a long term of years, and grown grey in the service, the trial was less severe as the value of life is diminished when youth and manhood are past. To young Christians, who had life before them, martyrdom was more dreadful. And yet, church history records interesting instances of persons in the vigour of life, and with promising prospects of emolument and honour, freely sacrificing their lives rather than abjure the faith. The love of life has yielded to the love of Christ. The fear of death has been held in abeyance to a greater fear, for one fear conquers another. The clear prospect and firm hope of life in heaven enabled the martyrs cheerfully to surrender life on earth. Heroic martyrdom was not without adequate motives and supports. It can be explained upon philosphical principles. Christianity being assumed as true, we do not wonder at the courage of martyrs, though we admire it. Some, indeed, faltered at the sight of the

block or the stake, which they might well enough do, if they had any doubt about the truth of the system, or their personal interest in Christ. There might be wavering even where there was faith. A Cranmer succumbed in the hour of weakness, and signed a form of recantation. But his faith rallied again and asserted itself in the teeth of his enemies, and looked on the flames without dismay. He suffered nobly at length, and remembering his fault, punished the hand with which he had signed the vile document by holding it in the hottest part of the flame, crying, "This unworthy right hand! this unworthy right hand!" As martyr-death cannot separate Christ and the believer, so neither can ordinary death. It rather consummates and ratifies the union. If there was any fear it might rather be that life would be damaging. Death is dismissal from hazard and temptation, whereas life is a scene of exposure. The longer it is continued the more prolonged is the trial. Grace is equal to either or both. Early death or lengthy life is all one to a christian who keeps within the charmed circle of grace. If he lives he lives holily, and if he dies he dies hopefully. "Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's." Rom. xiv. 8. The next group is a triad.

Nòr angels, nor principalities, nor powers.—These three terms may not be equal, but we hold them to be homogeneous. The principalities and powers are angelic as well as the angels. These two last terms are applied to men in high place, and are viewed in this way here by some commentators. We prefer to drop magistrates and civil rulers out of account, and keep to one class of beings. Angels cannot separate us; neither the angels of God nor the devil's angels. It is improbable in a high degree that the holy angels should do us harm. They are in our favour and on our side, and appointed guards over us. But we have another keeper besides. Who knows what might occur if we were handed over to the very best of the angels, and had no better keeping? An apostle has insinuated their defectibility. "But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed," Gal. i. 8, 9. The angels are good kind keepers, but we have a higher power that can shield us from damage, even from our friends. We think good angels will not injure us, but we are safest in knowing that they cannot.

Bad angels are not able to separate us from God. They cannot change his mind toward us nor alienate our love from him, without wilful and deliberate fault on our part. It is not to be forgotten that they have access to us, and a given amount of power over us.

Hence our need of vigilance. According to the scripture angelic agency has much to do in human affairs. Good angels are sent to punish bad men. Bad angels are sent to try and discipline good men. There is propriety in the arrangement. The holy ones will have a Godly zeal that will make them prompt in executing the penalty incurred. The evil angels will possess a malignity against goodness that will animate them to do their tempting work to a completeness. They will need no spur, but the bridle rather. It is our comfort to know that they are subject to check and rebuke, and to such restraint as consists with believers' safety, whilst they have scope sufficient to annoy and exercise them. An over-ruling power limits the tempters and helps the tempted.

"Principalities and powers" may point out higher orders of angelic beings in a ruling position as distinguished from common angels. There are principalities and powers in heaven, higher and lower orders. "To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places, might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God." Eph. iii. 10. Among the fallen angels too there are the same distinctions. They have a head called "the prince of the devils." And there are others who hold rule under him, and have territories assigned them in our terrene habitation which they dispute and contend for. There is "the prince of Persia" and "the prince of Grecia" among them, unless we are too free in our interpretation. See Dan. x. 13, 20. Satan, "the prince of this world," is bold enough to apportion to his servants territories which he has wrongfully usurped. What can principalities and powers do to the detriment of the Church? Those of heaven are in the pay of Immanuel. Those of the nether regions are in his power. Their strength was broken by his cross. "And having spoiled principalities and powers he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it." Col. ii. 15. True to ourselves and to Christ, we have nothing to fear either from the principalities above or from those below. Harrassed we may be, assailed and waylaid we will be; but conquered and ruined we cannot be, unless we are wilfully treacherous to our own souls. Our ghostly enemies cannot go so far. The next words are a pair:—

"*Nor things present, nor things to come.*"—Here is a distinction requiring to be understood with a freedom of speech that violates philosophical exactness. As divisions of time, the present and future, are very unequal, the future being of the greatest magnitude. Philosophically defined, What is the present? It is a mere point ready to drop into the past at the next sweep of the pendulum. It is almost nothing. The past and the future are the substantial divisions of time; the present keeps drawing upon the future and dissolving into the past. By a moment at once the past has all been present. The future is undergoing the

same process by the same small successions, just touching the present, and then gliding off into the past. The present, which we are fain to cling to and lean on, is scarcely tangible. We speak of it as if it had breadth, and length, and solidity, whereas, it is like a swift-flowing stream, or a swift-moving shadow, that is gone before you can apprehend it.

"Our life is a dream, our time as a stream
Glides swiftly away,
And the fugitive moment refuses to stay."

When we talk of the present, therefore, we take liberty and conceive of it beyond its real dimensions. This clause in our text may be two ways regarded. First, there is a 'present' and a 'to come' within the scope of this life. Secondly, there is a 'present' and a 'to come,' including this world and the next. In the first way we would account as present all circumstances now existing, and for a short time past having transpired and likely to continue yet a brief space. "Things to come"—what will take place next year, or in the next decade of years, or in the next stage of life. To the child or the waxing youth the affairs of manhood are things to come. To those who have arrived at maturity and have the main battle yet to fight the trials of mid-life are things to come. So those who have attained the hill-top of life, the decline with the debilities and infirmities of age are things to come. Within those respective periods you can conceive a present and a future. Each of them has 'things' of a pleasant as well as 'things' of a painful nature. But what then? Shall either of them be fatal to the children of grace? Shall prosperity corrupt, or adversity subdue the soldiers of Christ? An apostle says "I am persuaded not." Helped as they are, they may warrantably conclude upon final victory, and this very confidence (caution not being neglected) shall be tributary to the successful result.

In another view, "things present" take up the entire sum of mortal affairs, all the good and all the evil of our secular state. So the existing system is called "this present world" (2 Tim. iv. 10), and "this present evil world" (Gal. i. 4). In such breadth we understand the expression in that scripture, "For I reckon that the sufferings of *this present time* are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us." (Rom. viii. 18.) "Things to come"—the separate state, the resurrection, the last judgment, the final awards, the eternity that follows, in which every man shall live in conscious felicity or in deep-felt woe. What can there be in things to come for christians to dread? Their bodies will rise immortal. Their coronation is prepared for. The comfortable words of the Judge to them are composed beforehand and ready for utterance. As time will not sever the bond between Christ and his Church, so eternity cannot, since the final judgment seals and

ratifies the conditions of men according to the character which time produced and matured.

There are three items in the next group of words, but they are not properly a triad. The first two are a pair. "*Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature.*" The abstract ideas of height and depth are magnificent and awful even to bewilderment. But as we cannot understand how they can exercise any moral influence, we naturally suppose that they are employed in the way of figure.

Height of prosperity and depth of adversity are conditions of our mortal state, adapted to try and discover our moral principles. Neither of these is friendly to superior virtue or good character. The depth makes us base and servile and cowering, and tempts to doubtful actions. The height nurses pride, presumption, and atheism. The medium is congenial and most conservative. Though we repudiate the notion of character being absolutely a creation of circumstances, we cannot avoid the belief that character takes a complexion from them. Hence the obligation of watchfulness. Agur's prayer was based on this philosophy. (Prov. xxx. 7 to 9.) He deemed himself safer off the heights, and better away from the depths, and prayed to be fixed between the two, and that not for the sake of mere enjoyment, but for the establishment of his character. He was jealous of outward things, and would do better in either high or low estate than others having no such apprehension of danger. There are noble examples of saints maintaining a right bearing on the heights, and of others doing so in the depths, and of some coming off with advantage in both. Religion has sometimes shone in courts and palaces, or on a throne. In other instances it has lived in cot or hovel. But in some cases it has survived a transition from the one to the other. It has passed from hut to hall, or from hall to hut, and lost nothing. Paul himself knew both height and depth, and lived through both, gathering benefit from discipline. "I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased and I know how to abound: everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer needs." Philip iv. 11, 12. Elevation and depression fell to his lot. He was as high sometimes as the third heaven, whither he was caught up. He was in a paradise superior to Adam's. Then followed buffeting and the thorn in the flesh to prevent exaltation of mind. "Deep poverty" has developed a wealth of grace. High places have been filled creditably by Josephs, and Daniels, and Esthers, who have honoured their offices without losing religion or compromising principle. There is no condition high or low without temptation, but there is grace for every state.

The odd clause, "nor any other creature," is singularly thrown in, not relating to the two immediately preceding terms, but to the

entire enumeration of hostile things. It is a make-sure. It is as if all the battalions of the enemy had been mentioned by name and pronounced insufficient to secure the believer's defeat. Then, to leave nothing for despondency to stand on, it is affirmed that if there be any reserves not named in the list, even they shall be utterly powerless to turn the tide of victory. T. G.

ART. VIII.—FOOLISHNESS OF PREACHING.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE YEARS BEFORE THE BATTLE."

THE Apostle Paul, in is Epistle to the Corinthians, makes use of an expression, at once peculiar, significant, and appropriate! "It pleased God, by the foolishing of preaching, to save them that believe." It is a way of putting the matter by no means calculated to impress us with the idea that Paul was very anxious to magnify himself in his office, or to exalt his calling. But, at the same time, he has in his own masterly way embodied in that short sentence the whole philosophy of the great subject of apostolic preaching. Undoubtedly the apostle used this phrase advisedly, and with the design of showing the Corinthians that there was a mighty power associated with the preaching of the Gospel, however inadequate it might seem to them, as a means to the production of the results proposed by, and expected from it. He was not throwing down the gauntlet to unlettered and ignorant men, men who had no fixed and settled opinions of their own, and who were therefore an easy prey to the designing subtility of any one a little more witty or a little more pretentious than themselves. Corinth was as famous for its philosophy as it was notorious for its immorality. Its citizens were a cultivated people. Its splendid temples and other public buildings, exhibiting in their architectural designs and embelishments the highest attainments of some of the fine arts, clearly indicate a high degree of culture and refinement. Secular philosophy had done all for them that it can possibly do for any people. For centuries before the days of Paul, Greece had been famous for the profound learning and wisdom of her sages; and Corinth, in the cultivation of science, philosophy, and art, had won for herself more than ordinary distinction; for she was spoken of as "the eye of Greece," and when Paul addressed himself to the Corinthians, he addressed himself to many who, almost by virtue of their birth, so to speak, were calculating, logical, and philosophical. And his genius is eminently displayed in the singular and yet happy way in which he puts before them the very important truth expressed in

the phrase: "It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." For to the trained and prejudiced mind of a Corinthian philosopher the preaching of the gospel was a very foolish thing indeed. The only deity of which he had any clear and distinct apprehensions was NATURE: and he had studied nature very largely through the medium of his own corrupted self. The perfections and moral qualities of those imaginary beings, to whom temples were built, and acts of homage paid, were, in most cases, neither more nor less than embodyments of the passions and appetites of his own carnal nature. With him whatever was according to NATURE was right: and its philosophy had its practical development in a condition of sensualism and immorality almost without parallel in history. The Gospel was to him a scheme, at once novel and absurd. It presented to him a new code of morality; laid open to investigation a social science theory, in which principles before unknown to him was recognised as in active and incessant operation; represented his own nature as being defiled, corrupted, and disorganised; and revealed to him as the only true object of worship a deity, omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent; unimpeachable in his holiness, inflexible in his justice, and boundless in his mercy: whose words were words of changeless and eternal truth, and whose love and grace reached down in compassionating helpfulness to the lowest depths of human woe and weakness and sin. There was sufficient in this representation of the unknown author and sustainer of all things to perplex and mystify the Grecian mind, privileged as it had been for centuries with the teaching of some of the profoundest thinkers and the most masterly minds the world has ever known. The sovereignty and moral purity of God, and the presence of sin and evil in the universe he has made, and over which he reigns supreme, have presented to the thoughtful minds of all ages the same difficulties which they present to us to-day. It was just as difficult then as it is now, to reconcile the merciful and loving character of God with the sad and bitter facts of human sorrow and suffering which meet us in so many startling and terrible forms from day to day. And the gospel that which was essentially the gospel, as distinguished from what, from want of a better phrase we may term its associated facts, tended to increase rather than to diminish the difficulties thus presented to the philosophic Greek. Let us try to put ourselves in his place if we can, and look for a moment at the great subject of apostolic preaching from his stand-point. We ought always to speak with all caution and deference on so sacred a subject as that now before us; but we claim the right to examine the faith which we hold from every stand-point which history, science, or philosophy can supply, and with the utmost freedom of thought, and to submit those truths which are its foundation to the most searching enquiry.

The gospel, which was the subject of apostolic preaching, was a very plain and simple narrative of facts—that is, it was from first to last in perfect harmony with itself, and did not contradict itself. At the same time, the whole range of heathen mythology and ancient tradition could not furnish its equal for remarkable and miraculous association. The outlines of gospel truth, as presented to and accepted by the Christian believer, are very easily defined. God, in the creation, made man holy and perfect, and endowed him with a free will. In the exercise of that free will he committed an act of disobedience, by which, at once and for ever, he forfeited the friendship of God and rendered himself liable to the penalty of death. God, in the exercise of his infinite grace, was willing to save him. But the inflexible principle of divine justice was the only sure foundation for the exercise of the divine compassion, and justice must first be satisfied before mercy could move. Life was forfeited: as life has no equivalent, life must be given. God had in his own hand alone the means of human redemption, for he only had life to give. He sent his Son, the second person in the Mystic Trinity, that, clothing himself in our humanity, he might become a partaker of our nature; and that being in himself just and holy, and free from transgression, he might, in his adopted humanity, give himself—"the just," an atoning sacrifice for the transgressions of "the unjust." So God, in the person of his Son, became man, and dwelt with men; submitted himself to all the privations and sufferings and griefs of human life in its lowest walks; and then gave himself to death in its most degrading form, and surrounded by its most revolting and appalling associations. After thus satisfying the imperative demands of his own justice, he rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven, where he ever lives, to dispense the benefits of his own atoning sacrifice, in the blessings of salvation, to all those who in penitence and contrition come to him for pardon, believing in his willingness to forgive and in his power to regenerate and save them.

This gospel statement is set as plainly before us as it is possible for human language to set forth such incomprehensible mysteries as are involved in it. But look at it as the mere tale it would sound in the ears of the ancient Greek. A Jew, of mean origin, deeply imbued with the national prejudices of his race, cherishing with an intense enthusiasm their peculiar hopes and expectations; he has allowed his mind to brood over the humiliation and oppression which his people had to endure from foreign rulers, upon the very soil which, according to their traditions, was theirs as the inalienable gift of God; and, while so brooding, the expectation of the Messiah has so fixed itself upon his mind as to possess him with the idea that he is himself the Messiah. Filled and fired with this strange fancy, he sets himself forth as that deliverer of

his people which had been the burden of their prophets' songs for centuries. The Scribes, and those most deeply learned in their laws and literature, reject him, because he does not fulfil in himself all the necessary conditions of the Messiahship according to their interpretation of the prophecies relating to his advent and the hopes and expectations which they had themselves based upon those prophetic representations. He is treated as an impostor, is denounced as a traitor, and dies by the hand of justice. A few foolish and illiterate men—fishermen and tax-gatherers, and the like, had espoused his cause while he lived; and now that he was dead, were filling the world with absurd rumours of his having risen from the dead and having entrusted to them the duty of making him known as a great Deity, and in his name introducing a new religion into the world.

That declaration of Christ's character, and the design and purpose of his mission, with which the disciples and apostles astonished the world, as it would appear to the cultivated, sceptical, and licentious Greeks, could not be more aptly expressed than in the phrase of the apostle, "The foolishness of preaching." What was there in a tale like that to sustain the claims of a new religion, and to change the hearts, and manners, and customs, and philosophy of people whose habits and principles were fixed and settled by the practices, and the experience, and sanction of many generations? We are bound to answer, absolutely nothing. Where, then, lay the secret of its success? For its marvellous successes were its greatest mysteries. If the gospel were true, its achievements were a mighty miracle. If the gospel were fiction and falsehood, the history of its career and conquests is a miracle, infinitely beyond the ordinarily miraculous. What does Paul himself say on the question? He was a scholar and a gentleman. A Jew by birth; a Pharisee by education and training; a philosopher by virtue of his large grasp of intellect and the restless activities of his mind; and a Christian by conviction. He was a perfect master of the traditions and literature of his own people, and he had diligently and intelligently studied the various speculations and theories which marked and distinguished the different schools of ancient philosophy. He had tested the efficacy of the gospel in his own experience; and he had been the witness of its triumphs over passion, and ignorance, and sin in their most captivating and degrading forms. Let us hear him on this subject: "For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." The world, by its own wisdom, had never been able to attain to any clear and distinct apprehension and conception of the true God. This was according to God's own arrangement, for it was "in the wisdom of

God" that the world by wisdom should not know him, that he might show forth his own power by choosing so weak and foolish an agency as preaching as the means by which he had elected to "save them that believe." This was God's own arrangement, and having selected and appointed the means he associated therewith the needful power, subject to certain conditions by which he laid upon those who believed much of the responsibility attaching to the success or non-success of the preaching of the gospel in the salvation of those who had not yet believed. When the first disciples went forth, in obedience to Christ's command, "Go ye out into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," they went declaring that the long-looked for Messiah had come—that he had come, not in the character of a conquering hero, but as a suffering Saviour; that he had made a full atonement for all sin, and had given his life to purchase mercy and salvation as a free gift for all who would accept it in his name. The influence of the Holy Spirit, in preparing the heart to receive the truth and in applying the truth to the heart, was absolutely essential to the attainment of the great end of preaching; and the gift of that influence was made to depend in a large measure upon the ardent desires and the believing prayers of the church for its manifestation. To the Jew and to the Greek alike the gospel story would have been nothing but an idle tale, but for the power of the Holy Ghost which accomplished its ministration. In the exercise of that divine energy lay the secret of its saving power. If the world must be saved through faith in its Saviour it was necessary that the world should be made acquainted with him; for they could not believe in one of whom they had not heard, and they could not hear of him unless those who knew him made him known. But what an improbable tale was that which the first disciples had to tell. It is no wonder that it was "to the Jews a stumbling block." The Messiah of Peter and Paul was not at all the Messiah of the Jewish hope. No wonder that it was "to the Greeks foolishness." The God whom they preached, in his nature and character, stood far removed from the multitudinous deities which shared the devotions of the Grecian mind. There was absolutely nothing in the gospel to commend it to the depraved and vitiated tastes of either Jew or Gentile. And yet, history places beyond all doubt the fact, that to thousands of both Jews and Greeks it became "The power of God with salvation." It carried with itself a power by which it wrought in them the marvel of a new creation, making them, as the apostle pertinently puts it, "New creatures in Christ Jesus."

Coming down to the conditions and circumstances of our own age, this phrase of the apostles, "the foolishness of preaching,"

is apt and suggestive." It cannot be said that those themes which engage the attention of the preacher are in any degree new in our day; for there is scarcely a truth or statement in the Bible which have not been the subject of close argument and fierce dispute; and the doctrines accepted by the general Christian church are so well known, and people generally are so thoroughly familiar with the different opinions held on disputed points, that that public exposition of the truths of the gospel which is termed "preaching" may seem to some altogether unnecessary, and therefore foolish. By others, again, the association of the supernatural or divine power with the human agency in preaching may be denounced as irrational and unphilosophical. And, indeed, the tendency of modern thought lies in that direction. Arguments have been based upon what is boastfully termed "human reason," with a view of showing that the idea of sovereign power, in combination with human instrumentality, as a means of working in the heart of man that change which is represented by the term conversion, is a mere delusion. But, carefully analysed, those arguments are as contrary to "reason" as would be the attempt to solve a mathematical problem by means of a chemical experiment. To deny the miraculous as contrary to nature, when nature and nature's laws are themselves the most amazing miracles, is contrary to the principles of true philosophy. The growth of a plant would be to us a miracle if it were not presented before us so frequently as to divest it of the marvellous. Whatever is of frequent occurence soon ceases to amaze us, however wonderful it may be in itself. The turning of a sinner from the error of his ways (call it by whatever name you please) is a result occuring sufficiently often to give it the place of an established and well-authenticated fact, and to question a result so evident because we cannot account for it upon any principles of philosophy we have ourselves laid down, is unpardonable folly. The only logical conclusion we can reasonably deduce from our failure to reconcile the result with our own premises is that our premises were not correct; and when that result is found in connection with the preaching of the gospel, accompanied by the manifestation of divine power, and bearing the same relation to it as an effect ordinarily bears to its cause, it is entitled to take precedence, as a fact, of all mere suppositions and speculative theories. Therefore, if we are honest to ourselves and sincere in our professed desires to know the truth in relation to the "preaching of the gospel," we shall deal with it as we do with any other subject which engages our attention, and judge it by its own facts, and accept the conclusion which those facts invariably indicate.

There are marvellous powers in the human voice and eye; and

there is an influence in eloquent language, when it is the appropriate expression of noble thoughts and is fired by heartfelt sympathy, which is little less than an enchantment for the time. There is not an emotion of which the human soul is capable which may not be stirred, nay, wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, by an eloquent speaker, having before him a suitable subject; and there are no themes so stirring, and possessing the profound and universal interest as those which properly belong to the pulpit. We are all wise enough to understand that, and, in the absence of a stronger bond, we avail ourselves of what is termed "good preaching" to keep up the people's interest in the place of worship. And if it had "pleased God," by the philosophy and eloquence of preaching, "to save them that believe," we might confidently hope soon to have large accessions to the number of our church members. But pulpit eloquence, although it may allure and fascinate the fancy, attract people to the church or chapel, and keep up an apparent interest in the public services of religion, will never convert the souls of men. It will never, of itself, arouse them from the spiritual lethargy and indifferentism in which society lies as in a deathlike stupor. We shall have to betake ourselves to the old story again, and to try "the foolishness of preaching." It may seem a foolish thing to do; but what does that matter so long as it is God's way and means? It is his cause far more than it is ours; and he knows what is best.

Certainly, to a thoughtful and intelligent observer, having at heart the spiritual welfare of men, there is much in the present condition of society to discourage and alarm. There is comparatively little positive and open hostility to religion; but a spirit of utter indifferentism seems to possess the church and the world alike. Talk to the church-goer or the chapel-goer, and all that he remembers of the sermon are the grammatical blunders which disfigured it, or the apt quotations and the figures and flowers of rhetoric by which it was embellished; and his thoughts are too much taken up by a comparison between the style, manner, and general pulpit merits of this or that man, to give him time to examine himself—his own heart and his own ways—by the standard which has been set before him. Talk to the man whose face is never seen in a place of public worship from one year's end to another (and there are thousands and tens of thousands of such round about us), and he will tell you that it is not at all necessary for him to go and hear the gospel preached, because he already knows all about it just as well as the preacher; that he has read the Bible for himself when at school, and has still such a general recollection of its truths and statements as will satisfy him. While to those engaged in the work of preaching the gospel it must often seem a "labouring in vain, and a spending of the strength for

nought." The question suggests itself to us: Why is the preaching of the gospel now attended by results so small and unsatisfactory? Certainly not the lack of what is called preaching talent, nor in the numerical deficiency of preachers, so far as our own country is concerned, and of that we particularly speak; but most assuredly in the absence of that divine power, in the exercise of which the saving potency of the gospel lies. Men are saved, "not by might nor by power," but by the "Spirit of the Lord." You may as reasonably expect to reap a harvest from seeds sown upon the sandy beach, washed by the ocean's tidal swell from day to day, as to expect seed from fruit sown in hearts unprepared by divine grace to receive it. As a *power*, preaching is *very foolishness*; as a *means*, rightly understood and rightly used, it is equal to the salvation of the whole world. It occupies that position in the economy of grace which the process of sowing does in the arrangements of nature. The vital force possessed by the seed itself, and the necessary conditions of sunshine and shower, are under the control of a power higher than the sower. But the sower's agency is still absolutely necessary; for the seed can never germinate under the influence of shower and sunshine unless it be first sown. So with "the truth as it is in Jesus." It must be made known; the seed must be sown, but God only can give the increase. The shower and the sunshine are of his appointing, and without them there can be no growth, and therefore no harvest. The saving grace of God, through which "the gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation, to them that believe," is his own gift. Without that gift preaching is foolishness. It may tickle the ear and charm the fancy, but it can never renew the heart and save the soul. Accompanied by the influence of divine power, preaching, "foolishness" as it may seem, becomes, in his hand, the means by which he himself exercises a mighty saving power. Another question suggests itself to us, namely: Is this gift of divine grace an arbitrary bestowment, or is it in any way subject to conditions on our own part? Our own experience, Church history, and the clear and distinct statements of God's word combine to assure us that it is given in answer to prayer, and therefore, if preaching must be productive of those results which are hoped for from it, it must be attended with earnest and believing prayer. The connection between the pulpit and the closet must be closely maintained; and the preacher's expectation of success must be fixed upon the positive and direct influence of the Holy Spirit, and not upon his own talents and argumentative skill.

This, however, is no excuse for careless and indifferent preparation on the part of the preacher. The work of preaching is a work with which is associated the most solemn responsibilities any man can accept; and every man who desires to acquit his own conscience,

to discharge his duty to others faithfully, and to enjoy the approval and blessing of God, will seek earnestly to cultivate the gifts with which God has endowed him, and will make the best preparation for the pulpit he possibly can, that he may be able to put the truths of the gospel clearly and intelligently before the people. And when the ministry of the Church, realising the true nature of its duties, speaks with an earnest voice the truths of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and expects with an unfaltering faith the divine co-operation and blessing, then God will again visit his people, in the manifestation of his sovereign power, and he will, by "the foolishness of preaching, save them that believe."

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Man of all Work. A Memoir of the life and labours of the Rev. James Maughan, with selections from his Sermons and Lectures. By WILLIAM COOKE, D.D., author of 'Christian Theology,' 'The Deity,' &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Paternoster Row.

IN this volume Dr. Cooke sketches with a masterly hand the life and character of a brother minister, the late Rev. James Maughan; a man in every way worthy of the eloquent tribute here paid to his memory, of noble aspirations, of superior gifts, of varied acquirements, and of burning zeal in the service of God. This last-named feature of his character, his zeal for God, was perhaps the most prominent, leading his biographer to designate him by way of eminence—"The man of all work." The eagerness and intensity of his desire for usefulness impelled him to be "instant in season, out of season," "to sow beside all waters," to seize and turn to best account every opportunity for doing good, to surrender his whole body, soul, and spirit to the work of faith and the labour of love. There can, in fact, be little doubt that his zeal consumed him and brought him to a premature grave. However, it is pleasing to think that his arduous labours in the cause of Christ were crowned and rewarded with considerable success. Both in England and Australia he had the honour of winning many souls to Christ, of consolidating and extending the church with which he was specially identified, and of diffusing through society a sweet and healthy influence. Though of a strong and healthy constitution, he died at the comparatively early age of forty-five; but, as is clealy made out by his biographer, he as good as killed himself by imprudent habits of study and other exhaustive labours. Recklessly, in defiance of the laws of health and of friendly remonstrance, he strained his constitution, and made demands on his physical resources which could not be met. His life is at once an example and a warning; an example of consecration to God, and zeal in the service of religion worthy of all imitation; a warning of the evil consequences resulting to ministers from a violation of the laws of health. Dr. Cooke has laid the church under manifold obligations by the number and excellence of his theological writings, and the debt is now increased by this

valuable contribution to religious biography. The main facts of Mr. Maughan's life are here set forth in clear and graphic style, and the portrayal of his character is drawn in bold and life-like colours, while at the same time many important practical lessons are deduced and enforced. The writing of this volume has to Dr. Cook been a labour of love, first, by reason of his appreciation and affection for Mr. Maughan's person and character, and secondly, on account of the regard and consideration he cherishes for Mr. Maughan's truly excellent and amiable widow. And with praiseworthy generosity he not only surrenders all pecuniary interest in the book, but has also obtained from sympathising friends sufficient money to pay the expense of printing and publishing it, so that Mrs. Maughan may receive the entire proceeds of the sale. This is indeed noble conduct, and we are much mistaken if many of the readers of the *Ambassador* do not show their practical appreciation of it by becoming purchasers of the volume.

The Basket of Fragments; or Broken Pieces of Bread for Hungry Souls. By SILAS HENN. London: G. Lamb.

IT is desirable to have a book like this lying on one's dressing table to have a dip into night and morning. There are many books of the sort, good, bad, and indifferent; but this is one of the best. Its exercises are brief, suggestive, and quickening, and cannot be read without benefit. The following exercise may be taken as an average specimen:—

"*The carnal mind is enmity against God.* Rom. viii. 7.—This does not mean that the mind is naturally opposed to God—that in itself it is depraved or corrupt, but that the seeking to gratify our fleshly desires and fixing our preferences on this is to run counter to God's will and violate his holy commandments. The carnal mind is only another expression for carnally-minded, which is used in the previous verse, though the words in the Greek are the same in both verses. It is not the mind itself but the disposition, the choice or preference of the mind that is meant. To be carnally minded is to choose a sinful course, to follow our fleshly inclinations, to place our affections on sensual pleasures, worldly gratifications and make our own happiness the end of our existence. It is to be governed by the animal appetites and passions; and this minding of the lusts or desires of the flesh is rebellion—enmity against God." This is sound exegesis and useful instruction.

THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR.

ART. I.—ROBERT HALL.

DURING the first quarter of the present century the Baptists of England could boast of three distinguished men at least:—Andrew Fuller, John Foster, and Robert Hall. For robustness of intellect, for sound common sense, for simplicity and comprehensiveness in the exposition of gospel truth, and for indefatigable zeal in advocating the cause of Christian missions, and arousing the Church to a sense of her duty to the heathen world, Andrew Fuller was unsurpassed by any man of his day. John Foster was of a different type altogether, but equally eminent in his own sphere. A man of thought, rather than of action, he influenced society chiefly by his writings, and the influence he exerted in this way on the intelligent classes was great and salutary. Perhaps no contemporary Christian writer evinced such philosophical depth and power in discussing the great practical questions concerning human life and destiny, as well as in speculating on those abstruse subjects of thought which lie between the known and the unknown.

Robert Hall, the last and greatest of the three men named, was chiefly distinguished as a preacher. His writings were indeed of high merit, and did more, perhaps, than his preaching, to render him famous. But the most celebrated and influential of his writings were nothing more than his preaching reproduced in another form,—speaking from the press what he had spoken from the pulpit. By common and general consent he was recognized as the foremost preacher of his day. In early boyhood he had given unmistakeable evidence of extraordinary mental ability. When only nine years old he read and re-read with assiduity and delight Edwards on the Freedom of the Will, and Butler's Analogy of Religion, two of the profoundest and most abstruse books in the English language,—books which even full-grown and thoughtful men find it no easy matter to understand and digest. At the age of fourteen he united with the church of which his father was the

pastor, and the year after he entered the Baptist Academy at Bristol, to prepare for the ministry. Here he made his first attempt at preaching; but though to persons of judgment the attempt revealed the elements of superior preaching faculty, to others it appeared a total failure, and to himself was an occasion of shame and mortification. Certainly there was nothing in the attempt to prognosticate his future eminence. After proceeding with his sermon for a short time, he suddenly paused, covered his face with his hands, exclaimed, "Oh, I have lost all my ideas," and sat down in the pulpit. This failure in the presence of his tutor and fellow students was grievous to bear; but as it was attributed to lack of self-possession, rather than lack of ability, he was appointed to preach on the same subject, in the same place, the week following. The second attempt was accompanied by a failure still more painful and humiliating than the first. He hastened from the vestry to his own room, exclaiming, "If *this* does not humble me, the devil *must* have me." These failures, though extremely mortifying and painful, no doubt exerted a salutary influence on his mind, tending to reduce the too high estimate he, in common with most young ministers place on merely intellectual acquisitions, and contributed to produce that humility which graced his character through his long and brilliant career as a pulpit orator.

After remaining a year at the Bristol Academy, he removed to the University of Aberdeen, where he continued four years, prosecuting his studies with the greatest ardour, and taking a leading place in all the classes with which he was connected. Here he formed a close and affectionate intimacy with Sir James Mackintosh, then a fellow-student about his own age. This intimacy exerted a happy influence upon both of the young men, and Sir James ever afterwards spoke of Mr. Hall as one of the most extraordinary persons he had known, both for intellectual endowments and moral worth.

After leaving Aberdeen, being then twenty-one years of age, he settled at Bristol, as assistant pastor to Dr. Evans, of the Broadmead chapel. Here he at once became famous as a preacher of rare excellence, attracting much public attention, and winning golden opinions. Unfortunately, his doctrinal views at this time were somewhat loose, and he was perhaps too dogmatic and overbearing in the assertion and defence of his opinions. This led to his separation from Dr. Evans, and to his settlement at Cambridge, as pastor of the church from which Mr. Robinson, its former pastor, had been removed by sudden death. Mr. Robinson had for several years gone far astray in Socinian error, and, as a natural consequence, the church under his ministry degenerated in sentiment, spirit, and life. It was probably on this account Mr. Hall was

invited to become its pastor; for while his superb abilities were well known and highly appreciated, it was also known that his doctrinal views on some points tended in the direction of Socinianism. Happily for himself and for the people among whom he now settled, he retained, amidst his intellectual wanderings, a firm faith in the proper Godhead of Christ, and in the doctrine of the atonement; and, what was of still greater consideration, he assiduously cultivated a spirit of devotion, struggled to realize the highest personal excellence, and gave himself unremittingly to every good word and work. Gradually he got emancipated from his intellectual errors, chiefly by means of severe personal affliction, and by the death of his father. Materialism, or the oneness of soul and body, was the last of the errors he clung to; but he was heard to say that he had buried his materialism in his father's grave. His church experienced the benefit of this happy change. Under the influence of his teaching and example, it became as eminent for soundness of doctrine and practical goodness as it had previously been notorious for the lack of both. During the process of this transformation, incidents occurred serving to show how sadly some of the members of the church had got corrupted both in sentiment and spirit. We shall just mention one of these. After preaching a sermon on the doctrine of the atonement, and its practical lessons, he retired to the vestry, where he was followed by one of the leading members of the congregation, who said to him, "Mr. Hall, this preaching won't do for us, it will only suit a congregation of old women." "Do you mean my sermon, Sir, or the doctrine?" asked Mr. Hall. "Your doctrine," was the reply. "Why is it that the *doctrine* is fit only for old women?" further inquired Mr. Hall. "Because," said his would-be mentor, "it may suit the musings of people tottering on the verge of the grave, and who are eagerly seeking for comfort." "Thank you, Sir, thank you, Sir, for your concession. The doctrine will not *suit* people of any age, unless it be true; and if it be true, it is not fitted for old people alone, but is equally important at every age."

Mr. Hall's influence as a preacher at Cambridge extended far beyond his own church. People of other connexions, attracted by his great pulpit talent, were frequently found mingling with his regular congregation. Many of the students and some of the tutors of the University could not resist the attraction of the Baptist preacher, and in spite of murmurs from the heads of houses, persisted in swelling the throng of those who hung upon his eloquent lips. Nor is this to be wondered at, for his eloquence appears to have been of the very highest order, thrilling his hearers with delight, and holding them in thrall as with magic spell. It was not merely on special occasions that he exerted this spiritual mastery. Sometimes

indeed he would, as it were, transcend himself and dominate with an imperiousness of thought and speech almost superhuman; but the ordinary tide of his eloquence was always at high water mark. When he commenced his sermon there was usually the utmost stillness; as he proceeded, and became animated, some half dozen of his hearers would be seen rising and leaning over the front of the pews; a new or striking sentiment or illustration would cause others to rise in like manner, until, before the close of the sermon, perhaps three-fourths of the congregation would be standing, every eye fixed upon the preacher, and every ear eagerly devouring his words.

We have already remarked that Mr. Hall's fame was due more to his written than to his spoken sermons. And yet the sermons he published were few in number, not more than six or seven, and even these were forced from him by the urgency of his admirers. The first he published was on "Modern Infidelity as developed in connection with the French Revolution." Like the most of liberal-minded men in this country about the close of last century, Mr. Hall at first regarded the French Revolution with sanguine hopefulness, as the harbinger of liberty, equality, and fraternity to the nation; but, in common with many others, he suffered a strong revulsion of feeling when that great movement, breaking loose from the restraints of reason and moderation, issued in a wild and ferocious crusade against religion and morality, and identified itself with atheism, licentiousness, and almost every form of injustice and cruelty. His sermon, published on the occasion is a magnificent protest against the infidelity by which the French Revolution had been prostituted to base and bloody ends, showed in an argument of transcendent power and splendour that infidelity such as was then rampant in France is necessarily destructive not only of the happiness but of the very existence of human society. This sermon gained for Mr. Hall an immense popularity, especially among the higher and middle classes. It was read and admired by bishops, statesmen, and philosophers; it was largely quoted and commented upon in the newspaper press and reviews; numerous editions of it were rapidly issued to meet the public demand, and the humble Baptist preacher was universally recognised as the most intellectual, the most accomplished, and the most eloquent champion of the Christian faith then living in England.

Mr. Hall's career at Cambridge, which extended now to about fifteen years, had been of unsullied brightness. His intellectual resources had multiplied; his religious character had matured; his pulpit power had augmented; his fame as an eloquent preacher had vastly extended; when, to the unspeakable sorrow of his friends and of the community at large, he was for awhile stricken down by one of the most terrible calamities which can befall a human being.

That noble mind of his, so richly adorned with gifts natural and divine, lost its equilibrium, and suffered disastrous eclipse. Twice in one year he was smitten with insanity. Happily, by the blessing of God on the best medical advice that could be procured, he soon recovered his intellectual balance; but it was thought necessary he should leave Cambridge and cease altogether from preaching for a while. His removal was marked by the congregation which had enjoyed the benefit of his ministry expressing their gratitude by settling upon him a handsome annuity. He now retired to the beautiful neighbourhood of Leicester, where, after a short rest, he recruited his strength so rapidly that he began occasionally to preach in the surrounding villages. A small Baptist church in the town of Leicester, composed almost entirely of poor people, being in want of a pastor, invited Mr. Hall to the vacant office, and believing the call to be providential he accepted it. For twenty years he maintained his connection with this church, and the blessing of God richly attended his ministry. Twice the chapel had to be enlarged to meet the wants of his ever-increasing congregation, and the church itself greatly increased in numbers and abounded in the fruits of righteousness. While zealously discharging his duties as preacher and pastor to his own people, he was ever ready to give the aid of his powerful talents to the Bible and missionary societies and other philanthropic and religious institutions, frequently visiting the surrounding districts and occasionally going as far as the metropolis on special service. His twenty years' residence at Leicester may be considered the summer and autumn of his public life. The light of his genius did not, perhaps, burn so brilliantly or with such dazzling splendour as at Cambridge, but its lustre was richer and more genial; his eloquence was not, perhaps, so imperious and overpowering, but it was more hallowed, persuasive, and subduing. And here also he attained the zenith of his fame. His name was now a household word through the length and breadth of England; his pulpit eloquence was held to be unrivalled; his writings were frequently quoted as exquisite specimens of classic beauty, and as profound and elevated specimens of Christian philosophy. And it was quite a common thing for some of the most eminent men of the day to spend a Sabbath at Leicester just to enjoy for the nonce the luxury of his ministry.

His subsequent life spent at Bristol was marked by no great events—at least, none such as we are required to notice particularly. It is not our business to supply the facts of his biography any further than is necessary to give form and body to his life, so that we may feel we are dealing with a real man and not with a myth. We have specially to do with him as a preacher, and with those features of his genius and character which have direct relation to the work of preaching.

Mr. Hall was pre-eminently an intellectual preacher. The natural tendency of his mind led him to deal with truth in its principles rather than in its concrete forms. Hence he indulged little in Scripture exposition. Frequently he elaborated a sermon by process of thought before he had found a text for it. The element of his mind was abstraction, and when he got hold of a topic or principle it was his delight to strip it of its concrete wrappings, and to exhibit it in its primary and abstract elements. Although he indulged freely in tropes and figures of speech, and although these were always appropriate, and sometimes transcendently beautiful, he had little imagination, properly so called, which accounts for the fact that while his sermons were rich in thought and intellectual stimulus, they were not marked by originality. His lack of imagination also accounts for the singular fact that he had little or no relish for poetry. The grand old bards of Greece and Rome, such as Homer and Virgil, together with the masters of English song, such as Shakspere and Milton, were dismissed with indifference, except in so far as they developed the principles of truth, or supplied stimulus to thought. Metaphysical truth, truth in its simplest forms, in its abstract essence, was all in all to him. His sermons were almost invariably cast in a metaphysical mould: this at least was true of the first part of them. Towards the close he usually became simple, practical, and pungent, and hence, those of his hearers who could not easily follow him in the early part of his discourse were compensated by the rich treat reserved for them at the end. In the sermons he prepared for the press his style was elaborated and refined to an extreme; in his ordinary ministrations it was much simpler, though always chaste and dignified.

In preparing for the pulpit, Mr. Hall seldom wrote much, and for this reason—the effort required in writing produced extreme pain. Throughout life he suffered from a spinal affection, which, in order to have anything like ease, required him to spend a great deal of his time in a recumbent position, stretched on the floor, or on a row of chairs. His extraordinary power of abstraction, however, served him instead of writing. For nine hours together he has been known to remain wrapped in profound thought, dead, as it were, to everything around him. In these holy retirements he so fully elaborated and mastered his sermons that when he appeared in the pulpit he could reproduce them in all their entirety, even to the nicest distinctions of thought and language, just as if they had been written and committed to memory.

Mr. Hall had a striking presence. He stood above the middle height, was somewhat robust, and had a remarkably expressive countenance, capable of reflecting every shade of thought and feeling. His voice, though not strong, was sweet and rapid, flowing

like a stream of music. In listening to him, a stranger would probably be struck first of all with the grandeur of his thoughts, the elevated plane on which his mind moved, so far beyond and above the common sphere of pulpit discourse. And if the hearer were able to emancipate himself from the spell of the preacher's eloquence, so as to think of the preacher himself, he could not fail to be struck with his oblivion of self,—his utter self-forgetfulness—never attempting, even in an indirect way, to win for himself the favourable regards of his hearers. One thing, and only one thing appeared to engross him, and that was his subject. He even seemed, for the most part, to be unconscious of the presence of his congregation, so entirely was he absorbed with his theme. To do justice to his theme, to develop it in all its amplitude, to unfold its spiritual glories, to defend it from hostile attack, to commend it to the acceptance of men,—this was his only and all-engrossing concern. To do this work as a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, he concentrated and strained to the utmost the energies of his noble nature, pouring forth the resources of his highly cultured and richly stored intellect in flashes of the purest and most sanctified eloquence.

It is interesting to remember that as the greatest pulpit orator of the last generation was a Baptist, the most popular preacher of the present generation is also a Baptist. But, excepting in simplicity of aim and fervency of spirit, the two men differ in almost every other respect. In bodily stature Mr. Hall was tall and of imposing presence; Mr. Spurgeon is diminutive and unprepossessing. Mr. Hall's voice was comparatively weak and his enunciation rapid; Mr. Spurgeon's voice is large-volumed, and he speaks deliberately. Mr. Hall was of an abstract and speculative turn of mind; Mr. Spurgeon is didactic and practical. Mr. Hall drew his figures of speech principally from scenes of nature; Mr. Spurgeon draws his from scenes of life. Mr. Hall dealt with principles; Mr. Spurgeon deals with facts. Mr. Hall's style was highly polished and ornate; Mr. Spurgeon is plain, homely, and sometimes coarse. Mr. Hall was chiefly a favourite with the educated classes; Mr. Spurgeon is the idol of the million. Each man shines pre-eminent in his own sphere—but the spheres are apart.

When we become strongly interested in a public man on account of his talents and services, we naturally desire to get acquainted with his private character, and to look upon him as he appears to the eyes of his intimate friends. If we now turn from the public to the private life of Mr. Hall, we shall find much to instruct and delight us. He was a man of strong social instincts. The company of intelligent men and women he much enjoyed, and perhaps, as in the case of Dr. Johnson, the splendour of his talents and the inexhaustible resources of his intellect were more signally exhibited in

as well as each believer individually, is drawn to the Father, and kept in favour through the mediation of the Son. Viewed from the human side, the love is in Christ Jesus; apart from him we do not and cannot love God. The priestly office he stands in disarms our fears, and gives our love liberty to go out towards a Being, whom otherwise we could by no means approach. Leaving the two interpretations we have noticed, we pass on to—

THE ANTAGONIST FORCES SUPPOSED.—There is an artificial arrangement of them, about which the learned have more to say than we care to follow them in, it being more curious than useful. Still, it is undeniable that there is an orderly collocation of the words, similars and dissimilars being put into neighbourhood. Just as they stand in the translation, they fall into pairs and triads, or twos and threes, alternately. We begin with the first two—

"*Neither Death nor Life.*" Why should it not have been, neither life nor death? The customary and natural order is life and death. Death cannot be till life has first been. And in naming these two it is quite common to place life first. The apostle has done so in another passage, where he has a list of things, as here. "Whether Paul or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, *or life or death*, or things present, or things to come, all are yours." 1 Cor. iii. 22. So he says again, "To *live* is Christ, and to *die* is gain." Philip i. 21. The reversed order in our text was adopted, we think, in allusion to the cruel devices of persecutors, who threatened Christians with death, to make them abandon their religion, and promised them life on condition of abjuring their faith. The fear of death and the love of life were both made use of, the one to deter, the other to allure. This was a severe test, especially to young adherents of Christianity, and to such as were in the prime of life. To those who had reached a long term of years, and grown grey in the service, the trial was less severe as the value of life is diminished when youth and manhood are past. To young Christians, who had life before them, martyrdom was more dreadful. And yet, church history records interesting instances of persons in the vigour of life, and with promising prospects of emolument and honour, freely sacrificing their lives rather than abjure the faith. The love of life has yielded to the love of Christ. The fear of death has been held in abeyance to a greater fear, for one fear conquers another. The clear prospect and firm hope of life in heaven enabled the martyrs cheerfully to surrender life on earth. Heroic martyrdom was not without adequate motives and supports. It can be explained upon philosphical principles. Christianity being assumed as true, we do not wonder at the courage of martyrs, though we admire it. Some, indeed, faltered at the sight of the

block or the stake, which they might well enough do, if they had any doubt about the truth of the system, or their personal interest in Christ. There might be wavering even where there was faith. A Cranmer succumbed in the hour of weakness, and signed a form of recantation. But his faith rallied again and asserted itself in the teeth of his enemies, and looked on the flames without dismay. He suffered nobly at length, and remembering his fault, punished the hand with which he had signed the vile document by holding it in the hottest part of the flame, crying, "This unworthy right hand! this unworthy right hand!" As martyr-death cannot separate Christ and the believer, so neither can ordinary death. It rather consummates and ratifies the union. If there was any fear it might rather be that life would be damaging. Death is dismissal from hazard and temptation, whereas life is a scene of exposure. The longer it is continued the more prolonged is the trial. Grace is equal to either or both. Early death or lengthy life is all one to a christian who keeps within the charmed circle of grace. If he lives he lives holily, and if he dies he dies hopefully. "Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's." Rom. xiv. 8. The next group is a triad.

Nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers.—These three terms may not be equal, but we hold them to be homogeneous. The principalities and powers are angelic as well as the angels. These two last terms are applied to men in high place, and are viewed in this way here by some commentators. We prefer to drop magistrates and civil rulers out of account, and keep to one class of beings. Angels cannot separate us; neither the angels of God nor the devil's angels. It is improbable in a high degree that the holy angels should do us harm. They are in our favour and on our side, and appointed guards over us. But we have another keeper besides. Who knows what might occur if we were handed over to the very best of the angels, and had no better keeping? An apostle has insinuated their defectibility. "But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed," Gal. i. 8, 9. The angels are good kind keepers, but we have a higher power that can shield us from damage, even from our friends. We think good angels will not injure us, but we are safest in knowing that they cannot.

Bad angels are not able to separate us from God. They cannot change his mind toward us nor alienate our love from him, without wilful and deliberate fault on our part. It is not to be forgotten that they have access to us, and a given amount of power over us.

Hence our need of vigilance. According to the scripture angelic agency has much to do in human affairs. Good angels are sent to punish bad men. Bad angels are sent to try and discipline good men. There is propriety in the arrangement. The holy ones will have a Godly zeal that will make them prompt in executing the penalty incurred. The evil angels will possess a malignity against goodness that will animate them to do their tempting work to a completeness. They will need no spur, but the bridle rather. It is our comfort to know that they are subject to check and rebuke, and to such restraint as consists with believers' safety, whilst they have scope sufficient to annoy and exercise them. An over-ruling power limits the tempters and helps the tempted.

"Principalities and powers" may point out higher orders of angelic beings in a ruling position as distinguished from common angels. There are principalities and powers in heaven, higher and lower orders. "To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places, might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God." Eph. iii. 10. Among the fallen angels too there are the same distinctions. They have a head called "the prince of the devils." And there are others who hold rule under him, and have territories assigned them in our terrene habitation which they dispute and contend for. There is "the prince of Persia" and "the prince of Grecia" among them, unless we are too free in our interpretation. See Dan. x. 13, 20. Satan, "the prince of this world," is bold enough to apportion to his servants territories which he has wrongfully usurped. What can principalities and powers do to the detriment of the Church? Those of heaven are in the pay of Immanuel. Those of the nether regions are in his power. Their strength was broken by his cross. "And having spoiled principalities and powers he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it." Col. ii. 15. True to ourselves and to Christ, we have nothing to fear either from the principalities above or from those below. Harrassed we may be, assailed and waylaid we will be; but conquered and ruined we cannot be, unless we are wilfully treacherous to our own souls. Our ghostly enemies cannot go so far. The next words are a pair:—

"*Nor things present, nor things to come.*"—Here is a distinction requiring to be understood with a freedom of speech that violates philosophical exactness. As divisions of time, the present and future, are very unequal, the future being of the greatest magnitude. Philosophically defined, What is the present? It is a mere point ready to drop into the past at the next sweep of the pendulum. It is almost nothing. The past and the future are the substantial divisions of time; the present keeps drawing upon the future and dissolving into the past. By a moment at once the past has all been present. The future is undergoing the

same process by the same small successions, just touching the present, and then gliding off into the past. The present, which we are fain to cling to and lean on, is scarcely tangible. We speak of it as if it had breadth, and length, and solidity, whereas, it is like a swift-flowing stream, or a swift-moving shadow, that is gone before you can apprehend it.

"Our life is a dream, our time as a stream
Glides swiftly away,
And the fugitive moment refuses to stay."

When we talk of the present, therefore, we take liberty and conceive of it beyond its real dimensions. This clause in our text may be two ways regarded. First, there is a 'present' and a 'to come' within the scope of this life. Secondly, there is a 'present' and a 'to come,' including this world and the next. In the first way we would account as present all circumstances now existing, and for a short time past having transpired and likely to continue yet a brief space. "Things to come"—what will take place next year, or in the next decade of years, or in the next stage of life. To the child or the waxing youth the affairs of manhood are things to come. To those who have arrived at maturity and have the main battle yet to fight the trials of mid-life are things to come. So those who have attained the hill-top of life, the decline with the debilities and infirmities of age are things to come. Within those respective periods you can conceive a present and a future. Each of them has 'things' of a pleasant as well as 'things' of a painful nature. But what then? Shall either of them be fatal to the children of grace? Shall prosperity corrupt, or adversity subdue the soldiers of Christ? An apostle says "I am persuaded not." Helped as they are, they may warrantably conclude upon final victory, and this very confidence (caution not being neglected) shall be tributary to the successful result.

In another view, "things present" take up the entire sum of mortal affairs, all the good and all the evil of our secular state. So the existing system is called "this present world" (2 Tim. iv. 10), and "this present evil world" (Gal. i. 4). In such breadth we understand the expression in that scripture, "For I reckon that the sufferings of *this present time* are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us." (Rom. viii. 18.) "Things to come"—the separate state, the resurrection, the last judgment, the final awards, the eternity that follows, in which every man shall live in conscious felicity or in deep-felt woe. What can there be in things to come for christians to dread? Their bodies will rise immortal. Their coronation is prepared for. The comfortable words of the Judge to them are composed beforehand and ready for utterance. As time will not sever the bond between Christ and his Church, so eternity cannot, since the final judgment seals and

ratifies the conditions of men according to the character which time produced and matured.

There are three items in the next group of words, but they are not properly a triad. The first two are a pair. "*Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature.*" The abstract ideas of height and depth are magnificent and awful even to bewilderment. But as we cannot understand how they can exercise any moral influence, we naturally suppose that they are employed in the way of figure.

Height of prosperity and depth of adversity are conditions of our mortal state, adapted to try and discover our moral principles. Neither of these is friendly to superior virtue or good character. The depth makes us base and servile and cowering, and tempts to doubtful actions. The height nurses pride, presumption, and atheism. The medium is congenial and most conservative. Though we repudiate the notion of character being absolutely a creation of circumstances, we cannot avoid the belief that character takes a complexion from them. Hence the obligation of watchfulness. Agur's prayer was based on this philosophy. (Prov. xxx. 7 to 9.) He deemed himself safer off the heights, and better away from the depths, and prayed to be fixed between the two, and that not for the sake of mere enjoyment, but for the establishment of his character. He was jealous of outward things, and would do better in either high or low estate than others having no such apprehension of danger. There are noble examples of saints maintaining a right bearing on the heights, and of others doing so in the depths, and of some coming off with advantage in both. Religion has sometimes shone in courts and palaces, or on a throne. In other instances it has lived in cot or hovel. But in some cases it has survived a transition from the one to the other. It has passed from hut to hall, or from hall to hut, and lost nothing. Paul himself knew both height and depth, and lived through both, gathering benefit from discipline. "I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased and I know how to abound: everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer needs." Philip iv. 11, 12. Elevation and depression fell to his lot. He was as high sometimes as the third heaven, whither he was caught up. He was in a paradise superior to Adam's. Then followed buffeting and the thorn in the flesh to prevent exaltation of mind. "Deep poverty" has developed a wealth of grace. High places have been filled creditably by Josephs, and Daniels, and Esthers, who have honoured their offices without losing religion or compromising principle. There is no condition high or low without temptation, but there is grace for every state.

The odd clause, "nor any other creature," is singularly thrown in, not relating to the two immediately preceding terms, but to the

ntire enumeration of hostile things. It is a make-sure. It is as 'all the battalions of the enemy had been mentioned by name nd pronounced insufficient to secure the believer's defeat. Then,) leave nothing for despondency to stand on, it is affirmed that if ıere be any reserves not named in the list, even they shall be tterly powerless to turn the tide of victory. T. G.

Art. VIII.—FOOLISHNESS OF PREACHING.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE YEARS BEFORE THE BATTLE."

HE Apostle Paul, in is Epistle to the Corinthians, makes use of an expression, at once peculiar, significant, and appropriate! t pleased God, by the foolishing of preaching, to save them that lieve." It is a way of putting the matter by no means calculated impress us with the idea that Paul was very anxious to magnify mself in his office, or to exalt his calling. But, at the same time, has in his own masterly way embodied in that short sentence e whole philosophy of the great subject of apostolic preaching. ıdoubtedly the apostle used this phrase advisedly, and with the sign of showing the Corinthians that there was a mighty power sociated with the preaching of the Gospel, however inadequate it ght seem to them, as a means to the production of the results)posed by, and expected from it. He was not throwing down the untlet to unlettered and ignorant men, men who had no fixed d settled opinions of their own, and who were therefore an easy ey to the designing subtility of any one a little more witty or a tle more pretentious than themselves. Corinth was as famous for philosophy as it was notorious for its immorality. Its citizens ıre a cultivated people. Its splendid temples and other blic buildings, exhibiting in their architectural designs and emlishments the highest attainments of some of the fine arts, clearly licate a high degree of culture and refinement. Secular philoso- y had done all for them that it can possibly do for any people. r centuries before the days of Paul, Greece had been famous for e profound learning and wisdom of her sages; and Corinth, in the ltivation of science, philosophy, and art, had won for herself more an ordinary distinction; for she was spoken of as "the eye of reece," and when Paul addressed himself to the Corinthians, he dressed himself to many who, almost by virtue of their birth, so speak, were calculating, logical, and philosophical. And his nius is eminently displayed in the singular and yet happy way in ıich he puts before them the very important truth expressed in

the phrase: "It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." For to the trained and prejudiced mind of a Corinthian philosopher the preaching of the gospel was a very foolish thing indeed. The only deity of which he had any clear and distinct apprehensions was NATURE: and he had studied nature very largely through the medium of his own corrupted self. The perfections and moral qualities of those imaginary beings, to whom temples were built, and acts of homage paid, were, in most cases, neither more nor less than embodyments of the passions and appetites of his own carnal nature. With him whatever was according to NATURE was right: and its philosophy had its practical development in a condition of sensualism and immorality almost without parallel in history. The Gospel was to him a scheme, at once novel and absurd. It presented to him a new code of morality; laid open to investigation a social science theory, in which principles before unknown to him was recognised as in active and incessant operation; represented his own nature as being defiled, corrupted, and disorganised; and revealed to him as the only true object of worship a deity, omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent; unimpeachable in his holiness, inflexible in his justice, and boundless in his mercy: whose words were words of changeless and eternal truth, and whose love and grace reached down in compassionating helpfulness to the lowest depths of human woe and weakness and sin. There was sufficient in this representation of the unknown author and sustainer of all things to perplex and mystify the Grecian mind, privileged as it had been for centuries with the teaching of some of the profoundest thinkers and the most masterly minds the world has ever known. The sovereignty and moral purity of God, and the presence of sin and evil in the universe he has made, and over which he reigns supreme, have presented to the thoughtful minds of all ages the same difficulties which they present to us to-day. It was just as difficult then as it is now, to reconcile the merciful and loving character of God with the sad and bitter facts of human sorrow and suffering which meet us in so many startling and terrible forms from day to day. And the gospel that which was essentially the gospel, as distinguished from what, from want of a better phrase we may term its associated facts, tended to increase rather than to diminish the difficulties thus presented to the philosophic Greek. Let us try to put ourselves in his place if we can, and look for a moment at the great subject of apostolic preaching from his stand-point. We ought always to speak with all caution and deference on so sacred a subject as that now before us; but we claim the right to examine the faith which we hold from every stand-point which history, science, or philosophy can supply, and with the utmost freedom of thought, and to submit those truths which are its foundation to the most searching enquiry.

The gospel, which was the subject of apostolic preaching, was a very plain and simple narrative of facts—that is, it was from first to last in perfect harmony with itself, and did not contradict itself. At the same time, the whole range of heathen mythology and ancient tradition could not furnish its equal for remarkable and miraculous association. The outlines of gospel truth, as presented to and accepted by the Christian believer, are very easily defined. God, in the creation, made man holy and perfect, and endowed him with a free will. In the exercise of that free will he committed an act of disobedience, by which, at once and for ever, he forfeited the friendship of God and rendered himself liable to the penalty of death. God, in the exercise of his infinite grace, was willing to save him. But the inflexible principle of divine justice was the only sure foundation for the exercise of the divine compassion, and justice must first be satisfied before mercy could move. Life was forfeited: as life has no equivalent, life must be given. God had in his own hand alone the means of human redemption, for he only had life to give. He sent his Son, the second person in the Mystic Trinity, that, clothing himself in our humanity, he might become a partaker of our nature; and that being in himself just and holy, and free from transgression, he might, in his adopted humanity, give himself—"the just," an atoning sacrifice for the transgressions of "the unjust." So God, in the person of his Son, became man, and dwelt with men; submitted himself to all the privations and sufferings and griefs of human life in its lowest walks; and then gave himself to death in its most degrading form, and surrounded by its most revolting and appalling associations. After thus satisfying the imperative demands of his own justice, he rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven, where he ever lives, to dispense the benefits of his own atoning sacrifice, in the blessings of salvation, to all those who in penitence and contrition come to him for pardon, believing in his willingness to forgive and in his power to regenerate and save them.

This gospel statement is set as plainly before us as it is possible for human language to set forth such incomprehensible mysteries as are involved in it. But look at it as the mere tale it would sound in the ears of the ancient Greek. A Jew, of mean origin, deeply imbued with the national prejudices of his race, cherishing with an intense enthusiasm their peculiar hopes and expectations; he has allowed his mind to brood over the humiliation and oppression which his people had to endure from foreign rulers, upon the very soil which, according to their traditions, was theirs as the inalienable gift of God; and, while so brooding, the expectation of the Messiah has so fixed itself upon his mind as to possess him with the idea that he is himself the Messiah. Filled and fired with this strange fancy, he sets himself forth as that deliverer of

his people which had been the burden of their prophets' songs for centuries. The Scribes, and those most deeply learned in their laws and literature, reject him, because he does not fulfil in himself all the necessary conditions of the Messiahship according to their interpretation of the prophecies relating to his advent and the hopes and expectations which they had themselves based upon those prophetic representations. He is treated as an impostor, is denounced as a traitor, and dies by the hand of justice. A few foolish and illiterate men—fishermen and tax-gatherers, and the like, had espoused his cause while he lived; and now that he was dead, were filling the world with absurd rumours of his having risen from the dead and having entrusted to them the duty of making him known as a great Deity, and in his name introducing a new religion into the world.

That declaration of Christ's character, and the design and purpose of his mission, with which the disciples and apostles astonished the world, as it would appear to the cultivated, sceptical, and licentious Greeks, could not be more aptly expressed than in the phrase of the apostle, "The foolishness of preaching." What was there in a tale like that to sustain the claims of a new religion, and to change the hearts, and manners, and customs, and philosophy of people whose habits and principles were *fixed* and settled by the practices, and the experience, and sanction of many generations? We are bound to answer, absolutely nothing. Where, then, lay the secret of its success? For its marvellous successes were its greatest mysteries. If the gospel were true, its achievements were a mighty miracle. If the gospel were fiction and falsehood, the history of its career and conquests is a miracle, infinitely beyond the ordinarily miraculous. What does Paul himself say on the question? He was a scholar and a gentleman. A Jew by birth; a Pharisee by education and training; a philosopher by virtue of his large grasp of intellect and the restless activities of his mind; and a Christian by conviction. He was a perfect master of the traditions and literature of his own people, and he had diligently and intelligently studied the various speculations and theories which marked and distinguished the different schools of ancient philosophy. He had tested the efficacy of the gospel in his own experience; and he had been the witness of its triumphs over passion, and ignorance, and sin in their most captivating and degrading forms. Let us hear him on this subject: "For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." The world, by its own wisdom, had never been able to attain to any clear and distinct apprehension and conception of the true God. This was according to God's own arrangement, for it was "in the wisdom of

God" that the world by wisdom should not know him, that he might show forth his own power by choosing so weak and foolish an agency as preaching as the means by which he had elected to "save them that believe." This was God's own arrangement, and having selected and appointed the means he associated therewith the needful power, subject to certain conditions by which he laid upon those who believed much of the responsibility attaching to the success or non-success of the preaching of the gospel in the salvation of those who had not yet believed. When the first disciples went forth, in obedience to Christ's command, "Go ye out into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," they went declaring that the long-looked for Messiah had come—that he had come, not in the character of a conquering hero, but as a suffering Saviour; that he had made a full atonement for all sin, and had given his life to purchase mercy and salvation as a free gift for all who would accept it in his name. The influence of the Holy Spirit, in preparing the heart to receive the truth and in applying the truth to the heart, was absolutely essential to the attainment of the great end of preaching; and the gift of that influence was made to depend in a large measure upon the ardent desires and the believing prayers of the church for its manifestation. To the Jew and to the Greek alike the gospel story would have been nothing but an idle tale, but for the power of the Holy Ghost which accomplished its ministration. In the exercise of that divine energy lay the secret of its saving power. If the world must be saved through faith in its Saviour it was necessary that the world should be made acquainted with him; for they could not believe in one of whom they had not heard, and they could not hear of him unless those who knew him made him known. But what an improbable tale was that which the first disciples had to tell. It is no wonder that it was "to the Jews a stumbling block." The Messiah of Peter and Paul was not at all the Messiah of the Jewish hope. No wonder that it was "to the Greeks foolishness." The God whom they preached, in his nature and character, stood far removed from the multitudinous deities which shared the devotions of the Grecian mind. There was absolutely nothing in the gospel to commend it to the depraved and vitiated tastes of either Jew or Gentile. And yet, history places beyond all doubt the fact, that to thousands of both Jews and Greeks it became "The power of God with salvation." It carried with itself a power by which it wrought in them the marvel of a new creation, making them, as the apostle pertinently puts it, "New creatures in Christ Jesus."

Coming down to the conditions and circumstances of our own age, this phrase of the apostles, "the foolishness of preaching,"

is apt and suggestive." It cannot be said that those themes which engage the attention of the preacher are in any degree new in our day; for there is scarcely a truth or statement in the Bible which have not been the subject of close argument and fierce dispute; and the doctrines accepted by the general Christian church are so well known, and people generally are so thoroughly familiar with the different opinions held on disputed points, that that public exposition of the truths of the gospel which is termed "preaching" may seem to some altogether unnecessary, and therefore foolish. By others, again, the association of the supernatural or divine power with the human agency in preaching may be denounced as irrational and unphilosophical. And, indeed, the tendency of modern thought lies in that direction. Arguments have been based upon what is boastfully termed "human reason," with a view of showing that the idea of sovereign power, in combination with human instrumentality, as a means of working in the heart of man that change which is represented by the term conversion, is a mere delusion. But, carefully analysed, those arguments are as contrary to "reason" as would be the attempt to solve a mathematical problem by means of a chemical experiment. To deny the miraculous as contrary to nature, when nature and *nature's* laws are themselves the most amazing miracles, is contrary to the principles of true philosophy. The growth of a plant would be to us a miracle if it were not presented before us so frequently as to divest it of the marvellous. Whatever is of frequent occurence soon ceases to amaze us, however wonderful it may be in itself. The turning of a sinner from the error of his ways (call it by whatever name you please) is a result occuring sufficiently often to give it the place of an established and well-authenticated fact, and to question a result so evident because we cannot account for it upon any principles of philosophy we have ourselves laid down, is unpardonable folly. The only logical conclusion we can reasonably deduce from our failure to reconcile the result with our own premises is that our premises were not correct; and when that result is found in connection with the preaching of the gospel, accompanied by the manifestation of divine power, and bearing the same relation to it as an effect ordinarily bears to its cause, it is entitled to take precedence, as a fact, of all mere suppositions and speculative theories. Therefore, if we are honest to ourselves and sincere in our professed desires to know the truth in relation to the "preaching of the gospel," we shall deal with it as we do with any other subject which engages our attention, and judge it by its own facts, and accept the conclusion which those facts invariably indicate.

There are marvellous powers in the human voice and eye; and

ɔ is an influence in eloquent language, when it is the appro-
ːe expression of noble thoughts and is fired by heartfelt
ɔathy, which is little less than an enchantment for the time.
ˈe is not an emotion of which the human soul is capable
h may not be stirred, nay, wrought up to the highest pitch of
usiasm, by an eloquent speaker, having before him a suitable
ect; and there are no themes so stirring, and possessing the
ɔund and universal interest as those which properly belong to
pulpit. We are all wise enough to understand that, and, in the
nce of a stronger bond, we avail ourselves of what is termed
od preaching" to keep up the people's interest in the place of
ihip. And if it had "pleased God," by the philosophy and
uence of preaching, "to save them that believe," we might
idently hope soon to have large accessions to the number of
church members. But pulpit eloquence, although it may
re and fascinate the fancy, attract people to the church or
ɔel, and keep up an apparent interest in the public services
eligion, will never convert the souls of men. It will never,
self, arouse them from the spiritual lethargy and indifferentism
hich society lies as in a deathlike stupor. We shall have to
ıke ourselves to the old story again, and to try "the foolish-
ː of preaching." It may seem a foolish thing to do; but what
ː that matter so long as it is God's way and means? It is
ːause far more than it is ours; and he knows what is best.
ertainly, to a thoughtful and intelligent observer, having at
ːt the spiritual welfare of men, there is much in the present
lition of society to discourage and alarm. There is compara-
ly little positive and open hostility to religion; but a spirit of
r indifferentism seems to possess the church and the world
ɜ. Talk to the church-goer or the chapel-goer, and all that he
ɜmbers of the sermon are the grammatical blunders which
gured it, or the apt quotations and the figures and flowers of
oric by which it was embellished; and his thoughts are too
h taken up by a comparison between the style, manner, and
ːral pulpit merits of this or that man, to give him time to
nine himself—his own heart and his own ways—by the standard
ːh has been set before him. Talk to the man whose face is
ːr seen in a place of public worship from one year's end to
ːher (and there are thousands and tens of thousands of such
ıd about us), and he will tell you that it is not at all necessary
him to go and hear the gospel preached, because he already
ws all about it just as well as the preacher; that he has read
Bible for himself when at school, and has still such a general
llection of its truths and statements as will satisfy him. While
ıose engaged in the work of preaching the gospel it must often
ı a "labouring in vain, and a spending of the strength for

nought." The question suggests itself to us: Why is the preaching of the gospel now attended by results so small and unsatisfactory? Certainly not the lack of what is called preaching talent, nor in the numerical deficiency of preachers, so far as our own country is concerned, and of that we particularly speak; but most assuredly in the absence of that divine power, in the exercise of which the saving potency of the gospel lies. Men are saved, "not by might nor by power," but by the "Spirit of the Lord." You may as reasonably expect to reap a harvest from seeds sown upon the sandy beach, washed by the ocean's tidal swell from day to day, as to expect seed from fruit sown in hearts unprepared by divine grace to receive it. As a *power*, preaching is *very foolishness*; as a *means*, rightly understood and rightly used, it is equal to the salvation of the whole world. It occupies that position in the economy of grace which the process of sowing does in the arrangements of nature. The vital force possessed by the seed itself, and the necessary conditions of sunshine and shower, are under the control of a power higher than the sower. But the sower's agency is still absolutely necessary; for the seed can never germinate under the influence of shower and sunshine unless it be first sown. So with "the truth as it is in Jesus." It must be made known; the seed must be sown, but God only can give the increase. The shower and the sunshine are of his appointing, and without them there can be no growth, and therefore no harvest. The saving grace of God, through which "the gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation, to them that believe," is his own gift. Without that gift preaching is foolishness. It may tickle the ear and charm the fancy, but it can never renew the heart and save the soul. Accompanied by the influence of divine power, preaching, "foolishness" as it may seem, becomes, in his hand, the means by which he himself exercises a mighty saving power. Another question suggests itself to us, namely: Is this gift of divine grace an arbitrary bestowment, or is it in any way subject to conditions on our own part? Our own experience, Church history, and the clear and distinct statements of God's word combine to assure us that it is given in answer to prayer, and therefore, if preaching must be productive of those results which are hoped for from it, it must be attended with earnest and believing prayer. The connection between the pulpit and the closet must be closely maintained; and the preacher's expectation of success must be fixed upon the positive and direct influence of the Holy Spirit, and not upon his own talents and argumentative skill.

This, however, is no excuse for careless aud indifferent preparation on the part of the preacher. The work of preaching is a work with which is associated the most solemn responsibilities any man can accept; and every man who desires to acquit his own conscience,

ischarge his duty to others faithfully, and to enjoy the approval
blessing of God, will seek earnestly to cultivate the gifts with
h God has endowed him, and will make the best preparation
he pulpit he possibly can, that he may be able to put the
ns of the gospel clearly and intelligently before the people.
when the ministry of the Church, realising the true nature of
uties, speaks with an earnest voice the truths of the gospel of
s Christ, and expects with an unfaltering faith the divine co-
ation and blessing, then God will again visit his people, in the
ifestation of his sovereign power, and he will, by "the foolish-
of preaching, save them that believe."

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Man of all Work. A Memoir
the life and labours of the Rev.
nes Maughan, with selections
n his Sermons and Lectures. By
LLIAM COOKE, D.D., author of
ristian Theology,' 'The Deity,'
London: Hodder & Stoughton,
ernoster Row.

is volume Dr. Cooke sketches
a masterly hand the life and
cter of a brother minister, the
ev. James Maughan; a man in
way worthy of the eloquent tri-
here paid to his memory, of noble
tions, of superior gifts, of varied
rements, and of burning zeal in
ervice of God. This last-named
e of his character, his zeal for
was perhaps the most prominent,
g his biographer to designate him
y of eminence—"The man of all
" The eagerness and intensity of
sire for usefulness impelled him
"instant in season, out of season,"
w beside all waters," to seize and
o best account every opportunity
ing good, to surrender his whole
soul, and spirit to the work of
and the labour of love. There
in fact, be little doubt that
al consumed him and brought
him to a premature grave. How-
ever, it is pleasing to think that his
arduous labours in the cause of Christ
were crowned and rewarded with
considerable success. Both in England
and Australia he had the honour of
winning many souls to Christ, of con-
solidating and extending the church
with which he was specially identified,
and of diffusing through society a
sweet and healthy influence. Though
of a strong and healthy constitution,
he died at the comparatively early age
of forty-five; but, as is clealy made
out by his biographer, he as good as
killed himself by imprudent habits
of study and other exhaustive labours.
Recklessly, in defiance of the laws of
health and of friendly remonstrance, he
strained his constitution, and made de-
mands on his physical resources which
could not be met. His life is at once
an example and a warning; an example
of consecration to God, and zeal in the
service of religion worthy of all imi-
tation; a warning of the evil conse-
quences resulting to ministers from a
violation of the laws of health. Dr.
Cooke has laid the church under mani-
fold obligations by the number and
excellence of his theological writings,
and the debt is now increased by this

valuable contribution to religious biography. The main facts of Mr. Maughan's life are here set forth in clear and graphic style, and the portrayal of his character is drawn in bold and life-like colours, while at the same time many important practical lessons are deduced and enforced. The writing of this volume has to Dr. Cook been a labour of love, first, by reason of his appreciation and affection for Mr. Maughan's person and character, and secondly, on account of the regard and consideration he cherishes for Mr. Maughan's truly excellent and amiable widow. And with praiseworthy generosity he not only surrenders all pecuniary interest in the book, but has also obtained from sympathising friends sufficient money to pay the expense of printing and publishing it, so that Mrs. Maughan may receive the entire proceeds of the sale. This is indeed noble conduct, and we are much mistaken if many of the readers of the *Ambassador* do not show their practical appreciation of it by becoming purchasers of the volume.

The Basket of Fragments; or Broken Pieces of Bread for Hungry Souls. By SILAS HENN. London: G. Lamb.

IT is desirable to have a book like this lying on one's dressing table to have a dip into night and morning. There are many books of the sort, good, bad, and indifferent; but this is one of the best. Its exercises are brief, suggestive, and quickening, and cannot be read without benefit. The following exercise may be taken as an average specimen:—

"*The carnal mind is enmity against God.* Rom. viii. 7.—This does not mean that the mind is naturally opposed to God—that in itself it is depraved or corrupt, but that the seeking to gratify our fleshly desires and fixing our preferences on this is to run counter to God's will and violate his holy commandments. The carnal mind is only another expression for carnally-minded, which is used in the previous verse, though the words in the Greek are the same in both verses. It is not the mind itself but the disposition, the choice or preference of the mind that is meant. To be carnally minded is to choose a sinful course, to follow our fleshly inclinations, to place our affections on sensual pleasures, worldly gratifications and make our own happiness the end of our existence. It is to be governed by the animal appetites and passions; and this minding of the lusts or desires of the flesh is rebellion—enmity against God." This is sound exegesis and useful instruction.

THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR.

ART. I.—ROBERT HALL.

DURING the first quarter of the present century the Baptists of England could boast of three distinguished men at least:—Andrew Fuller, John Foster, and Robert Hall. For robustness of intellect, for sound common sense, for simplicity and comprehensiveness in the exposition of gospel truth, and for indefatigable zeal in advocating the cause of Christian missions, and arousing the Church to a sense of her duty to the heathen world, Andrew Fuller was unsurpassed by any man of his day. John Foster was of a different type altogether, but equally eminent in his own sphere. A man of thought, rather than of action, he influenced society chiefly by his writings, and the influence he exerted in this way on the intelligent classes was great and salutary. Perhaps no contemporary Christian writer evinced such philosophical depth and power in discussing the great practical questions concerning human life and destiny, as well as in speculating on those abstruse subjects of thought which lie between the known and the unknown.

Robert Hall, the last and greatest of the three men named, was chiefly distinguished as a preacher. His writings were indeed of high merit, and did more, perhaps, than his preaching, to render him famous. But the most celebrated and influential of his writings were nothing more than his preaching reproduced in another form,—speaking from the press what he had spoken from the pulpit. By common and general consent he was recognized as the foremost preacher of his day. In early boyhood he had given unmistakeable evidence of extraordinary mental ability. When only nine years old he read and re-read with assiduity and delight Edwards on the Freedom of the Will, and Butler's Analogy of Religion, two of the profoundest and most abstruse books in the English language,—books which even full-grown and thoughtful men find it no easy matter to understand and digest. At the age of fourteen he united with the church of which his father was the

pastor, and the year after he entered the Baptist Academy at Bristol, to prepare for the ministry. Here he made his first attempt at preaching; but though to persons of judgment the attempt revealed the elements of superior preaching faculty, to others it appeared a total failure, and to himself was an occasion of shame and mortification. Certainly there was nothing in the attempt to prognosticate his future eminence. After proceeding with his sermon for a short time, he suddenly paused, covered his face with his hands, exclaimed, "Oh, I have lost all my ideas," and sat down in the pulpit. This failure in the presence of his tutor and fellow students was grievous to bear; but as it was attributed to lack of self-possession, rather than lack of ability, he was appointed to preach on the same subject, in the same place, the week following. The second attempt was accompanied by a failure still more painful and humiliating than the first. He hastened from the vestry to his own room, exclaiming, "If *this* does not humble me, the devil *must* have me." These failures, though extremely mortifying and painful, no doubt exerted a salutary influence on his mind, tending to reduce the too high estimate he, in common with most young ministers place on merely intellectual acquisitions, and contributed to produce that humility which graced his character through his long and brilliant career as a pulpit orator.

After remaining a year at the Bristol Academy, he removed to the University of Aberdeen, where he continued four years, prosecuting his studies with the greatest ardour, and taking a leading place in all the classes with which he was connected. Here he formed a close and affectionate intimacy with Sir James Mackintosh, then a fellow-student about his own age. This intimacy exerted a happy influence upon both of the young men, and Sir James ever afterwards spoke of Mr. Hall as one of the most extraordinary persons he had known, both for intellectual endowments and moral worth.

After leaving Aberdeen, being then twenty-one years of age, he settled at Bristol, as assistant pastor to Dr. Evans, of the Broadmead chapel. Here he at once became famous as a preacher of rare excellence, attracting much public attention, and winning golden opinions. Unfortunately, his doctrinal views at this time were somewhat loose, and he was perhaps too dogmatic and overbearing in the assertion and defence of his opinions. This led to his separation from Dr. Evans, and to his settlement at Cambridge, as pastor of the church from which Mr. Robinson, its former pastor, had been removed by sudden death. Mr. Robinson had for several years gone far astray in Socinian error, and, as a natural consequence, the church under his ministry degenerated in sentiment, spirit, and life. It was probably on this account Mr. Hall was

invited to become its pastor; for while his superb abilities were well known and highly appreciated, it was also known that his doctrinal views on some points tended in the direction of Socinianism. Happily for himself and for the people among whom he now settled, he retained, amidst his intellectual wanderings, a firm faith in the proper Godhead of Christ, and in the doctrine of the atonement; and, what was of still greater consideration, he assiduously cultivated a spirit of devotion, struggled to realize the highest personal excellence, and gave himself unremittingly to every good word and work. Gradually he got emancipated from his intellectual errors, chiefly by means of severe personal affliction, and by the death of his father. Materialism, or the oneness of soul and body, was the last of the errors he clung to; but he was heard to say that he had buried his materialism in his father's grave. His church experienced the benefit of this happy change. Under the influence of his teaching and example, it became as eminent for soundness of doctrine and practical goodness as it had previously been notorious for the lack of both. During the process of this transformation, incidents occurred serving to show how sadly some of the members of the church had got corrupted both in sentiment and spirit. We shall just mention one of these. After preaching a sermon on the doctrine of the atonement, and its practical lessons, he retired to the vestry, where he was followed by one of the leading members of the congregation, who said to him, "Mr. Hall, this preaching won't do for us, it will only suit a congregation of old women." "Do you mean my sermon, Sir, or the doctrine?" asked Mr. Hall. "Your doctrine," was the reply. "Why is it that the *doctrine* is fit only for old women?" further inquired Mr. Hall. "Because," said his would-be mentor, "it may suit the musings of people tottering on the verge of the grave, and who are eagerly seeking for comfort." "Thank you, Sir, thank you, Sir, for your concession. The doctrine will not *suit* people of any age, unless it be true; and if it be true, it is not fitted for old people alone, but is equally important at every age."

Mr. Hall's influence as a preacher at Cambridge extended far beyond his own church. People of other connexions, attracted by his great pulpit talent, were frequently found mingling with his regular congregation. Many of the students and some of the tutors of the University could not resist the attraction of the Baptist preacher, and in spite of murmurs from the heads of houses, persisted in swelling the throng of those who hung upon his eloquent lips. Nor is this to be wondered at, for his eloquence appears to have been of the very highest order, thrilling his hearers with delight, and holding them in thrall as with magic spell. It was not merely on special occasions that he exerted this spiritual mastery. Sometimes

indeed he would, as it were, transcend himself and dominate with an imperiousness of thought and speech almost superhuman; but the ordinary tide of his eloquence was always at high water mark. When he commenced his sermon there was usually the utmost stillness; as he proceeded, and became animated, some half dozen of his hearers would be seen rising and leaning over the front of the pews; a new or striking sentiment or illustration would cause others to rise in like manner, until, before the close of the sermon, perhaps three-fourths of the congregation would be standing, every eye fixed upon the preacher, and every ear eagerly devouring his words.

We have already remarked that Mr. Hall's fame was due more to his written than to his spoken sermons. And yet the sermons he published were few in number, not more than six or seven, and even these were forced from him by the urgency of his admirers. The first he published was on "Modern Infidelity as developed in connection with the French Revolution." Like the most of liberal-minded men in this country about the close of last century, Mr. Hall at first regarded the French Revolution with sanguine hopefulness, as the harbinger of liberty, equality, and fraternity to the nation; but, in common with many others, he suffered a strong revulsion of feeling when that great movement, breaking loose from the restraints of reason and moderation, issued in a wild and ferocious crusade against religion and morality, and identified itself with atheism, licentiousness, and almost every form of injustice and cruelty. His sermon, published on the occasion is a magnificent protest against the infidelity by which the French Revolution had been prostituted to base and bloody ends, showed in an argument of transcendent power and splendour that infidelity such as was then rampant in France is necessarily destructive not only of the happiness but of the very existence of human society. This sermon gained for Mr. Hall an immense popularity, especially among the higher and middle classes. It was read and admired by bishops, statesmen, and philosophers; it was largely quoted and commented upon in the newspaper press and reviews; numerous editions of it were rapidly issued to meet the public demand, and the humble Baptist preacher was universally recognised as the most intellectual, the most accomplished, and the most eloquent champion of the Christian faith then living in England.

Mr. Hall's career at Cambridge, which extended now to about fifteen years, had been of unsullied brightness. His intellectual resources had multiplied; his religious character had matured; his pulpit power had augmented; his fame as an eloquent preacher had vastly extended; when, to the unspeakable sorrow of his friends and of the community at large, he was for awhile stricken down by one of the most terrible calamities which can befall a human being.

That noble mind of his, so richly adorned with gifts natural and divine, lost its equilibrium, and suffered disastrous eclipse. Twice in one year he was smitten with insanity. Happily, by the blessing of God on the best medical advice that could be procured, he soon recovered his intellectual balance; but it was thought necessary he should leave Cambridge and cease altogether from preaching for a while. His removal was marked by the congregation which had enjoyed the benefit of his ministry expressing their gratitude by settling upon him a handsome annuity. He now retired to the beautiful neighbourhood of Leicester, where, after a short rest, he recruited his strength so rapidly that he began occasionally to preach in the surrounding villages. A small Baptist church in the town of Leicester, composed almost entirely of poor people, being in want of a pastor, invited Mr. Hall to the vacant office, and believing the call to be providential he accepted it. For twenty years he maintained his connection with this church, and the blessing of God richly attended his ministry. Twice the chapel had to be enlarged to meet the wants of his ever-increasing congregation, and the church itself greatly increased in numbers and abounded in the fruits of righteousness. While zealously discharging his duties as preacher and pastor to his own people, he was ever ready to give the aid of his powerful talents to the Bible and missionary societies and other philanthropic and religious institutions, frequently visiting the surrounding districts and occasionally going as far as the metropolis on special service. His twenty years' residence at Leicester may be considered the summer and autumn of his public life. The light of his genius did not, perhaps, burn so brilliantly or with such dazzling splendour as at Cambridge, but its lustre was richer and more genial; his eloquence was not, perhaps, so imperious and overpowering, but it was more hallowed, persuasive, and subduing. And here also he attained the zenith of his fame. His name was now a household word through the length and breadth of England; his pulpit eloquence was held to be unrivalled; his writings were frequently quoted as exquisite specimens of classic beauty, and as profound and elevated specimens of Christian philosophy. And it was quite a common thing for some of the most eminent men of the day to spend a Sabbath at Leicester just to enjoy for the nonce the luxury of his ministry.

His subsequent life spent at Bristol was marked by no great events—at least, none such as we are required to notice particularly. It is not our business to supply the facts of his biography any further than is necessary to give form and body to his life, so that we may feel we are dealing with a real man and not with a myth. We have specially to do with him as a preacher, and with those features of his genius and character which have direct relation to the work of preaching.

Mr. Hall was pre-eminently an intellectual preacher. The natural tendency of his mind led him to deal with truth in its principles rather than in its concrete forms. Hence he indulged little in Scripture exposition. Frequently he elaborated a sermon by process of thought before he had found a text for it. The element of his mind was abstraction, and when he got hold of a topic or principle it was his delight to strip it of its concrete wrappings, and to exhibit it in its primary and abstract elements. Although he indulged freely in tropes and figures of speech, and although these were always appropriate, and sometimes transcendently beautiful, he had little imagination, properly so called, which accounts for the fact that while his sermons were rich in thought and intellectual stimulus, they were not marked by originality. His lack of imagination also accounts for the singular fact that he had little or no relish for poetry. The grand old bards of Greece and Rome, such as Homer and Virgil, together with the masters of English song, such as Shakspere and Milton, were dismissed with indifference, except in so far as they developed the principles of truth, or supplied stimulus to thought. Metaphysical truth, truth in its simplest forms, in its abstract essence, was all in all to him. His sermons were almost invariably cast in a metaphysical mould: this at least was true of the first part of them. Towards the close he usually became simple, practical, and pungent, and hence, those of his hearers who could not easily follow him in the early part of his discourse were compensated by the rich treat reserved for them at the end. In the sermons he prepared for the press his style was elaborated and refined to an extreme; in his ordinary ministrations it was much simpler, though always chaste and dignified.

In preparing for the pulpit, Mr. Hall seldom wrote much, and for this reason—the effort required in writing produced extreme pain. Throughout life he suffered from a spinal affection, which, in order to have anything like ease, required him to spend a great deal of his time in a recumbent position, stretched on the floor, or on a row of chairs. His extraordinary power of abstraction, however, served him instead of writing. For nine hours together he has been known to remain wrapped in profound thought, dead, as it were, to everything around him. In these holy retirements he so fully elaborated and mastered his sermons that when he appeared in the pulpit he could reproduce them in all their entirety, even to the nicest distinctions of thought and language, just as if they had been written and committed to memory.

Mr. Hall had a striking presence. He stood above the middle height, was somewhat robust, and had a remarkably expressive countenance, capable of reflecting every shade of thought and feeling. His voice, though not strong, was sweet and rapid, flowing

like a stream of music. In listening to him, a stranger would probably be struck first of all with the grandeur of his thoughts, the elevated plane on which his mind moved, so far beyond and above the common sphere of pulpit discourse. And if the hearer were able to emancipate himself from the spell of the preacher's eloquence, so as to think of the preacher himself, he could not fail to be struck with his oblivion of self,—his utter self-forgetfulness—never attempting, even in an indirect way, to win for himself the favourable regards of his hearers. One thing, and only one thing appeared to engross him, and that was his subject. He even seemed, for the most part, to be unconscious of the presence of his congregation, so entirely was he absorbed with his theme. To do justice to his theme, to develop it in all its amplitude, to unfold its spiritual glories, to defend it from hostile attack, to commend it to the acceptance of men,—this was his only and all-engrossing concern. To do this work as a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, he concentrated and strained to the utmost the energies of his noble nature, pouring forth the resources of his highly cultured and richly stored intellect in flashes of the purest and most sanctified eloquence.

It is interesting to remember that as the greatest pulpit orator of the last generation was a Baptist, the most popular preacher of the present generation is also a Baptist. But, excepting in simplicity of aim and fervency of spirit, the two men differ in almost every other respect. In bodily stature Mr. Hall was tall and of imposing presence; Mr. Spurgeon is diminutive and unprepossessing. Mr. Hall's voice was comparatively weak and his enunciation rapid; Mr. Spurgeon's voice is large-volumed, and he speaks deliberately. Mr. Hall was of an abstract and speculative turn of mind; Mr. Spurgeon is didactic and practical. Mr. Hall drew his figures of speech principally from scenes of nature; Mr. Spurgeon draws his from scenes of life. Mr. Hall dealt with principles; Mr. Spurgeon deals with facts. Mr. Hall's style was highly polished and ornate; Mr. Spurgeon is plain, homely, and sometimes coarse. Mr. Hall was chiefly a favourite with the educated classes; Mr. Spurgeon is the idol of the million. Each man shines pre-eminent in his own sphere—but the spheres are apart.

When we become strongly interested in a public man on account of his talents and services, we naturally desire to get acquainted with his private character, and to look upon him as he appears to the eyes of his intimate friends. If we now turn from the public to the private life of Mr. Hall, we shall find much to instruct and delight us. He was a man of strong social instincts. The company of intelligent men and women he much enjoyed, and perhaps, as in the case of Dr. Johnson, the splendour of his talents and the inexhaustible resources of his intellect were more signally exhibited in

such select company than in his public performances. He also delighted to associate with pious people, however poor or illiterate. He was wont frequently to spend an evening with the poor widows of his congregation, taking in his pockets a good supply of tea and sugar, so that his visits might not be burdensome. On such occasions he would drink as many as thirty cups of an evening, visiting four or five families, and taking seven or eight cups with each.

Though more richly gifted than, perhaps, any man of his times, and though esteemed and revered by the most eminent men of the day, he entertained a low opinion of himself. Anything in the form of praise or adulation he frowned down. The record of his private devotions affords the most touching evidences of self-renunciation and humility: nor would he accept of anything from his fellows at all likely to minister to his vanity. When the faculty of the Marischal College, Aberdeen, conferred upon him the title of D.D., in admiration of his talents and character, he refused to accept it, though perhaps no man of his day was more worthy to wear such an honour. As he was profoundly conscious of his own shortcomings—and therefore clothed himself with humility, nothing offended him more than pride or vanity in others, especially in Christian ministers. A certain preacher, in whom vanity sadly preponderated, having delivered a sermon in Mr. Hall's hearing, pressed him with disgusting self-complacency and indelicacy to state what he thought of the sermon. Mr. Hall remained silent for some time, hoping his silence would be rightly interpreted; but this only caused the preacher to be more pressing for his opinion. Mr. Hall at length said, "There was one very fine passage in your sermon, sir." "I am rejoiced to hear you say so. Pray, sir, what was it?" "Why, sir," replied Mr. Hall, "it was the passage from the pulpit into the vestry."

Mr. Hall could, when he thought proper, use his power of sarcasm with overwhelming effect, and there can be little doubt he sometimes used it unwisely, to the injury of himself as well as others. In the heat of debate harsh and bitter things were said which he afterwards bitterly regretted. But the severity of his speech was sometimes required, and had a salutary effect. For instance, one day a ministerial brother, who was likely to ruin himself by brandy drinking, called upon him and said, "Friend Hall, I will thank you for a glass of brandy-and-water." "Call things by their right names, and you shall have as much as you please." "Why, don't I employ the right name? I ask for a glass of brandy-and-water." "That is the current, but not the appropriate name. Ask for a glass of liquid fire and distilled damnation, and you shall have a gallon." For a moment the poor man turned pale, and seemed

struggling with anger; but only for a moment. Overcome with the mingled severity and kindness of the rebuke, he stretched out his hand to Mr. Hall and said, "Brother Hall, I thank you from the bottom of my heart." From that time he ceased to drink brandy.

Mr. Hall was a great reader, not so much in the number, as in his mastery of the books he read. The Greek classics were abiding favourites, as much, perhaps, for their eloquent diction as for their subtilty of thought. He highly prized and closely studied the Puritan divines. Of these John Howe stood highest in his esteem. And, indeed, the splendid attributes of Howe's mind bore a striking resemblance to his own. His estimate of John Owen's writings was by no means high. Of Gill's commentary he thought very meanly, pronouncing it to be nothing better than a continent of mud. Of all commentaries on the Scriptures, Matthew Henry stood peerless in his estimation, and for several of the last years of his life he read two chapters of it daily. A London publisher offered him £100 to write a commendatory preface to a new edition of Henry. The proposal gave him much uneasiness. "What," he said, "I write a recommendation to Matthew Henry! Mr. —— must think me a most mercenary wretch. Why did he not offer me £100 to paint a diamond, or to extol the sweet scent of a violet!"

To all who held by the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel and lived accordingly, though differing from him in subordinate points, he extended a loving and fraternal regard. He was by connection a Baptist, but he did not regard the mode of baptism a vital question, and had no hesitation in holding communion with pœdo-Baptists. Indeed, at Leicester he had two churches under his pastoral care, both meeting in the same chapel, the one composed of Baptists, the other of pœdo-Baptists, the one holding its Communion Service in the morning, the other in the afternoon, and he presiding over both. While residing at Leicester, the Primitives were beginning to make no small commotion in the town and neighbourhood. A friend called upon him one day, and said, "What do you think of the Ranters, Mr. Hall? Don't you think they ought to be put down." "I don't know enough of their conduct to say that. What do they do? Do they inculcate Antinomianism? or do they exhibit immorality in their lives?" "Not that I know of; but they fall into very irregular practices." "Indeed; what practices?" "Why, sir, when they enter a village they begin to sing hymns, and they go on singing till they collect a number of people about them on the village green or on some neighbouring field, and then they preach." "Well, whether that may be *prudent* or *expedient*, depends upon circumstances; but, as yet, I see no criminality." "But you must admit, Mr. Hall,

that it is *very irregular*." "And suppose I do admit that, what follows? Was not our Lord's rebuking the scribes and Pharisees, and driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple, very irregular? Was not almost all that he did in his public ministry very irregular? Was not the course of the apostles and of Stephen, and of many of the evangelists, very irregular? Were not the proceedings of Luther and Calvin, and their fellow-workmen in the Reformation, very irregular,—a complete and shocking innovation upon all the quiescent doings of the Papists? And were not the whole lives of Wesley and Whitfield very irregular lives, according to your manner of viewing such things? Yet how infinitely is the world indebted to all those men! No, sir, there must be something widely different to mere irregularity, before I can condemn." A better defence of the policy and practices of Primitive Methodism has perhaps never been made.

Mr. Hall was an inveterate smoker. How he acquired a habit to which he previously had a strong repugnance, is worth mentioning. His distinguished friend Sir James Mackintosh, and the learned Dr. Parr, happening to be spending a few weeks together at Cambridge, Mr. Hall was anxious to enjoy their company as much as possible. A difficulty, however, stood in the way. From morning to night Dr. Parr was enveloped in a cloud of tobacco smoke. To sit with anything like comfort in such an atmosphere, Mr. Hall found it necessary to learn himself the practice of smoking. One day, while vigorously blowing at his pipe, a friend who called expressed astonishment to find him so engaged. "Oh," said Mr. Hall, "I am qualifying myself for the company of a Doctor in divinity." Subsequently he got to like the pipe for its soothing influence, and became a confirmed smoker. The same friend put into his hands Dr. A. Clarke's tract on tobacco smoking, hoping that the reading of it might induce him to break off from the practice. After reading the tract he returned it, saying, "I can't answer the Doctor's arguments, and I can't give up smoking."

We had perhaps better close our remarks on Mr. Hall with this instance of his weakness. We do not present him as a faultless model, either as a minister or a man, and yet great benefit may be derived from a devout study of his character and writings. As a preacher he had certain shortcomings, and yet he was unquestionably the greatest preacher of his day—and in many respects as great a preacher as ever opened lip to expound the truth of God. As a man he had certain shortcomings, faults of temper, faults of speech, which in some slight degree shaded the lustre of his character; and yet, taking him all in all, he was one of the noblest specimens of Christian manhood. But let us not forget—There is only one absolutely faultless model of character

—the man Christ Jesus; we point to him. Of only one preacher can it be said, "Never man spake like this man." Of only one man can it be said, he was "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners." Jesus Christ is the only model preacher and the only model man.

ART. II.—CHRIST OUR SUBSTITUTE.

"For when we were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly. For scarcely for a righteous man will one die; yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die. But God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners Christ died for us.—Rom. v. 6-8.

THE condition mankind were in, viewed apart from Christ was deplorably sad, "we were yet without strength." The term so rendered either means that we were *weak* or that we were *wicked.* Commentators incline to preserve the old theological notion of moral weakness being equivalent to wickedness. They wish to attach such import to this "without strength," that it may be a fair exchange for "the ungodly" in the next line. We hold that those who are without strength are the very same persons afterwards denominated "ungodly," "sinners," and "enemies." This does not prevent our claiming a distinctive import for the earlier term, which, in our judgment, is not to be merged in, or confounded with the others, as of identical meaning. The proper sense of the word is weak, since it is compounded of a word that means strength, and a privative prefix, which, in composition, has a negative or depriving power.

Fallen men were without resources—destitute, helpless, and exposed to misery. They were in a condition of alienation and exposure to divine displeasure through sin, and had no self-resources to struggle out of it. Their peculiar circumstances, as derived and descended from one another, and from one common head who became evil before generation commenced, are such as greatly to qualify the regards of other moral beings toward them. Sinners of mankind are objects of moral disapprobation. Other orders of being will regard them so, and justly, for sin is sinful, culpable, hateful and loathsome under whatever circumstances. But men are so constituted and situated as to receive an amount of discount from intelligent observers of their errors. Weaklings generally engage sympathy, be they moral weaklings or weak in body or mind, or as lying under social disabilities. The low and wretched and indigent are readily recognised as pitiable. The eye of benevolence melts when it looks on them. If no questions are

asked as to how they came to be in such condition, the sympathy has full scope. That they are impoverished, afflicted or sorrowful suffices. If, upon inquiry or volunteered information, it is found that their wretchedness is the consequence of wrong-doing on their own part, another element of feeling comes into play antagonistic withal to sympathy. Some severe minds would forego their sympathy entirely in moral detestation, or would sympathise with them only so far as their suffering was supposed to be in excess of their sin. Kindlier natures would soften towards them whilst they still disapproved of their behaviour. Let it be ascertained that some one person, closely related to them, by a slip in his behaviour, reduced them to their low condition, although their personal conduct has aggravated the case, this would furnish a mitigating consideration.

Since the first man disobeyed his Maker sin has had free scope amongst men, and has produced bitter fruits. His immediate descendants copied his example. They did so in consequence of a deteriorated nature, which they derived from him. Then their offspring fell heirs to the same Antinomian dispositions, and pursued the same course of rebellion. So, through successive generations, the evil has come on to our times. The inborn depravity is by no means impaired by repeating itself over such an extent of time and being re-produced in multiplied births. Neither do we think it is deepened or aggravated. It was sufficiently bad to begin with, without growing worse. It has had power to enslave every generation and every individual. Proportionate to the strength of evil desire is men's weakness. We were out of joint with the law through our inward estrangement, so that we were weak to keep it, or it was weak to keep us under rule. Between it and us there was a weakness that disabled us somehow. There was something which the law could not do, in that it was weak through our flesh. The weakness is predicated of the law, but our disordered nature was the real seat of the incapacity. We were weak to spring obedience to its precepts, and equally so to ward off its penalty. In this condition the first sin of the first man involved us. Born to evil as men were, none of them could turn the captivity of his brethren. Once sin got in, it spread commensurate with the increase of the race. Men could neither expiate their offences by propitiating measures, nor put themselves into condition to live well. As therefore none but the first man was ever in a condition not to have sinned at all, but did sin, and as it pleased our Maker to multiply human beings and people the world, remedial provision seems to have been a necessity. There being no health or help in the creature, divine love came to the rescue.

"IN DUE TIME CHRIST DIED FOR THE UNGODLY."

The ungodly—the impious, unholy, profane—which is the character of all men. Considered in the light of the context, there is emphasis due to this word. The force of the passage hinges upon the character of the persons for whom Christ interposed. The love is heightened by the depth of moral degradation into which its object had sunk. The argument is stated in this verse and carried forward to the next for expansion and enlargement. The deed of love was performed, not for amiable characters recommended by full-blown virtues, but for such as were repulsive and odious—ungodly. The world-wide aspect of the atonement is involved in this clause. Who are these "ungodly" for whom Christ died? One says they are the Gentiles. If we accept this it looks far towards our point, as the Pagans were the greatest part of the ancient world. Yet the other smaller division, the Jews, with a better theology, bore the stamp of ungodliness just as deeply. Another commentator, of great critical reputation, restricts the reference to those who become subjects of grace. He brackets the word *us*, and reads, "Christ died for [*us*] who are ungodly." Had the apostle meant no more than this, it would have been the easiest thing imaginable to have completed the verse by the personal pronoun, just as he closes the eighth verse, "Christ died for us." This he avoids, we think, intentionally, for the twofold purpose of bringing into view the character of those for whom Christ died, and indicating that his death had respect to all sustaining that character. An atonement made for all men is so largely and expressly taught in the general tenor of scripture as to require no aid, and to gather no appreciable strength, from this small criticism. But we think it right to win even an inch of ground from those who restrict Christ's death to the actual partakers of the benefit.

"Christ *died for* the ungodly." In what sense he died for them is worthy of being ascertained. There are two senses contended for, namely: for *their benefit*, and *in their stead, in their place*. These two views come very near each other. They approach so closely that it may seem trifling to contend for their distinctness. Yet there is a point of divergence, and at that point lies all the difference. One person may die for another's benefit in several ways quite distinct from that of dying in his room or stead. Martyrs have died for us to bequeath to us a system of truth which they held to be divine, and to give us an example of holy constancy. Patriots have sacrificed their lives to hand forward to us our civil liberties and privileges. And how many lives have been devoted in the defence of our country against invasion! All those died for our benefit. In venturing life for another and dying in the attempt a man dies for that other whose life he aims at saving, whether he succeeds to rescue him or not. But these cases do not stand parallel with Christ dying for an

ungodly world. He was more than a martyr, more than a patriot, and more than a bold venturer in a case of danger. The persons he died for were under a doom and a sentence, and he sought their release by being answerable for them to suffer what infinite justice would accept. His death was no venture or hazard. It was intended, appointed, predicted, and for ages shadowed forth in bloody offerings. It had judicial relations. It had expiatory and vicarious virtue. His suffering was accepted in the eye of the law to free us from liability. Does not this make him properly our substitute? We repudiate the low and gross ideas that the enemies of Christian doctrine charge us with. We do not hold that Christ's death on the cross was to save us from dying on a cross, or to save us from temporal death at all. Neither do we hold that he suffered the identical penalty due to us both in kind and amount. He suffered instead of us suffering. He suffered that which was of avail to nullify our penalty, so that, upon the exercise of penitence and faith, we are accepted for his sake as if we had never transgressed. This is what we mean by his being our substitute. The express declarations of scripture warrant us, as we think. "But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all." Isa. liii. 5, 6. "For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." 2 Cor. v. 21. "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit." 1 Peter iii. 18. All this is quite as strong as saying that Christ is our substitute.

"*In due time* Christ died." The marginal reading is, "according to the time." It helps us to the true explanation, if we exchange the word time, and translate "according to the *season*." Might not Christ have come and lived and died at a much earlier date, say, close after the fall, or before the flood, or soon after the flood? Why should Abraham, and Moses, and Joshua precede him? Why a succession of judges and a line of kings forerun him? Why so many centuries of time make a tedious lapse, the world being kept in comparative ignorance meantime about the way of salvation? Was there no waste of time? Or we may ask, if he could not have come sooner, might he not have been later? Might it not have been our privilege to be his contemporaries? Or might not his appearance in the flesh have been postponed till nearer the consummation of time itself? Then the tragedy of Calvary and the final judgment might have come almost together. We mean no irreverence in asking these questions. If it

had been a matter of indifference when the Saviour should come, the right of determination was still with him who has the times in his power. The Ruler of the ages could have put the incarnation backward or forward by his mere pleasure. But, we presume, it was not done arbitrarily. There was a propriety in Christ coming just when he came, rather than sooner or later. The time was suitable, and was *the* time. It was the *predicted* time, though that was a secondary matter. If it could have been at any time else, prophecy would have pointed accordingly. In the divine administration prophecy depends upon events, and not events upon it. Although it pleases us much to know that Jesus died at the predicted period, we do not conclude that he died then because it was so foretold, but rather that because he died then it was foretold so. The truth is, his death-time was a *season*. There was a process leading to it. Ceremony, prediction, miracle, and providence were all working towards the result. The scheme was delineated in God's Book, where its parts were gradually fashioned when as yet none of them had ripened into reality and obviousness. Expectation had been awakened and sustained over a course of centuries, and it was not disappointed. The issue arrived, and the goodly scheme had a perfect birth. Seasons are proverbially faithful: the seed-time comes first, and much under-ground work is done, and expectation is sustained upon green appearances; but the "corn cometh in his season." "But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law." Gal. iv. 4. It was a time of deep-felt need. Human sin had grown to a great head, and could not be cured by any device of man. Long trial had been made by philosophers, and statesmen, and moral reformers, to cure the existing evil. They proved to be physicians of no value. Man's extremity is God's opportunity. It was time for the water to be troubled, and the angel came at the certain season, none behind the time and none before. The passover was kept "at his appointed season," in the evening of this world's day; "but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." Heb. ix. 26.

"For scarcely for a righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die." This pursues the idea expressed in the sixth verse,—of one person dying instead of another. It indicates the necessity of noble character in the person for whom another would die. Whereas the previous verse had said that Christ died for *the ungodly*, this affirms that uncommon excellence is required in another to induce any one to die for him. To apprehend the meaning in this verse, we must distinguish accurately the import of the terms "righteous" and "good." In common parlance, we take liberties with these terms,

and use them as if they were equivalent and exchangeable. A man that fears God and deals upon right principles with men, we would call a righteous man, or a good man. Whether we used the one term or the other, we would mean the same. This free use of the terms may be found in the scripture, as for example in Psalm one hundred and twelfth and verses five and six. "A *good man* sheweth favour and lendeth; he will guide his affairs with discretion. Surely he shall not be moved for ever; the *righteous* shall be in everlasting remembrance." For ordinary purposes this will do. But in argument and logical processes this license cannot be permitted. In the passage in hand it could not be allowed, for the obvious reason that a contrast is intended between the good man and the righteous man. It would be impossible to contrast a man with himself or a character with the same character, as there would be no difference. Therefore we hold the righteous man and the good man to be distinct persons. We will devote a paragraph or two to the description of each.

A righteous man is characterised by the strictest integrity,—is honest, truthful, and exact. In all commercial transactions he is ruled by a sense of justice, which prompts him to render to others their full due to a fraction. The smallest filament that belongs to another he would deem it a sin to retain. "From a thread even to a shoe-latchet," he will have nothing that is another man's. The charge we have against him is, that he is severe in demanding all his own dues. He makes a hedge of thorn about his entire property, and reserves it all to his own good and exclusive use. The four-fold classification of character to which the commentators refer for the illustration of this passage, marks him off very distinctly. There is a kind of man that says "What is mine is mine, and what is thine is thine;" a kind that says, "What is mine is thine, and what is thine is mine;" a kind that says, "What is mine is mine, and what is thine is mine;" and another kind that says, "What is mine is thine, and what is thine is thy own." The righteous man stands first in this division. He insists upon a clear line being drawn between his and his neighbour's land, and forbids any encroachments being made. Whatever grows upon his grounds is all his own, both sheaf and gleaning. He is quite as careful to keep all to himself that belongs to him, as he is to give to others what is in justice due. Though he keeps a good understanding with all who deal with him in trade, he wins no golden opinions on the ground of generosity or costly kindnesses.

In estimating this character it is worth enquiring whether he is rich or poor. If he be poor, that circumstance may qualify our feelings towards him. Some can be righteous without any strain or effort. With ample means at command they can discharge all monetary obligations with ease. Some of more limited means can

only keep abreast of the world by dint of self-denial. Find a man in humble life whose entire energy is rather in the rear of requirement, and who makes a struggle, and by care and retrenchment keeps his outlay down to his income, and has the satisfaction of holding up his head among his peers as an honest man, that leans on no one but himself, and you have a righteous man whom you can respect and admire. The righteous man of our text must be otherwise regarded. He has it in the power of his hand to indulge in liberality, if his heart would let him. He is churlishly righteous from an inborn baseness of soul.

In strong contrast we have a good man. His characteristic is bountifulness of disposition. Without neglecting the claims of justice, he is feelingly alive to the promptings of generosity. He, too, is as just as his hard neighbour in rendering to his compeers their rights and claims, but not so severely just in challenging his own. Instances occur in which he thinks it proper to forego a claim, his debtor being under the crush of untoward circumstances. Whilst he does justly he loves mercy. In a world like this, with so much affliction and poverty, disappointment and casualty, a good man is in large request. The principle of self-support is good. We honour the noble-minded independence that struggles to do without help. But this is a rough world: things are often so jostled out of position as to create fair occasion for the play of bountiful dispositions. Some come under the necessity of receiving help, and others have the blessed opportunity of giving the help required; and neither is the receiver degraded nor the giver injured. A good man is ready to render help in every available way: he has a roof-tree for the houseless, a wardrobe for the naked, a store-room for the hungry, a heart of sympathy for the afflicted, and a tongue to plead for the injured. But he is respected and loved most for the kindly nature that prompts these outward deeds. It is not so much the money value that he parts with, as the considerate kindness which moves him to such doings, that stamps him good. There is a blandness and cordiality about him, sweetening all his actions; so that if his substantial charities were considerably less, he would still be esteemed as a good man. Who so base as not to rejoice in the welfare of such a man? Who so heartless as not to share his grief?

Our apostle speaks about some one dying for these men; and he puts his words most carefully together, as if he had studied and weighed them well. It is seldom indeed that such a prodigy of love occurs as one person deliberately dying for another. The opportunity for such a display is infrequent; not being offered more than once or twice in an age, and when offered not very eagerly embraced. Such a deed is told to excite wonder. A historian deems it a privilege to have a well-authenticated instance with which to

adorn his page; and posterity reads it with a close questioning of the evidence. The person for whom another would die must have some rare virtues to engage and move the substitute to such self-sacrifice. He must have laid the public in general, or the individual who offers to take his place, in particular, under great obligation before such a favour could be shown to him. There is small probability indeed of the severely righteous man being substituted if he had to die a public death. Never having played the benefactor, there could be no impulse of gratitude to stir any one to stand in for him. And his stern virtues being chiefly displayed in his own interests, were not such as to gender a dying love. He might die unwept, unless he died unjustly. The good man, beneficent, kind and generous, whose wide-spread bounty had enlisted the love of hundreds, would be in better case. He would die more deeply lamented. Perhaps some one, touched with admiration of his character, or some other heavily indebted to him in gratitude, would step forward and take his place, and redeem a life so noble and useful. But perhaps not. The translation says "*peradventure.*" It says "*some* would"—not just any or every person would be ready and forward. It says "some would even *dare* to die," which is well put, for it is a bold thing to volunteer dying. If we could imagine help coming to both characters we would expect the good man's substitute to come more cheerfully than the other. The one would move as with a leaden weight attached to him; the other with feet like wings. This passage translated according to the general use of terms in Greek would find a substitute for both these men, and shew the contrast in the way we have indicated. The abverb *tacha*, rendered "peradventure," always means *quickly, soon*, except when accompanied by a certain particle which is not in our present text. And the other words that come from the same root signify swiftness, fleetness, or speed. We submit this by permission, since authorities have decided that in *the New Testament* the word means *perhaps, possibly*. The story of Damon and Pythias, well known to readers of ancient history, is a lively illustration of the text. We forbear its insertion as it is familiar, and hasten on to complete our exposition.

Verse 8, "But God commendeth his love toward us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." "*Commendeth* his love"—establishes, exhibits, recommends, displays, renders conspicuous, his love. Any one of these terms is applicable. Or we may banish them all, and keep the given word "commendeth" before us. It is a sort of conciliating term, hinting some shyness or estrangement as previously existing, or some feeling of distance. By the good offices of his Son as mediator he did away the distance, and gave such demonstration of his love as is fitted to overcome our sullenness and win our hearts. In social intercourse one person commends another as worthy of

admission within the circle of our fellowship. So Paul introduces a Christian female to the Church at Rome, using this same word, "*I commend* unto you Phœbe our sister." God commended himself to the world. He gave such a brilliant proof of his love, as to latest time will attract attention, and encourage successive generations to trust and serve him. "That in the ages to come he might shew the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness toward us through Christ Jesus." Eph. ii. 7.

This instance of love is put in contrast with the noblest manifestations of human love, which it far overtops. His ways of love are above. His is not the manner of men. "Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends." John xv. 13. Persons knit to each other by strong endearments will sometimes defend one another to death, or exchange situations when one must live and the other die. When Jesus would go into Judea where his life was imperilled, Thomas, under a touch of noble daring, rallied his fellow disciples and said, "Let us also go that we may die with him." John xi. 16. Peter said, "Lord, why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thy sake." John xiii. 37. David wished to have died, but not for Saul his enemy, but for Absalom his son. "Would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!" 2 Sam. xviii. 33. In all cases in which men have cherished a dying love there will be found strong disposing circumstances such as did not exist in Christ dying for us. Men have died, and talked of dying for their friends. Christ died for enemies. While we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Guilty, fallen, degraded, and open to the stroke of justice, man became an object of mercy. Upon another order of beings, whose fall was partial, the penalty of sin fell with terrible weight, and made them monuments of justice. But lo, a mystery of love attaches to the history of fallen men! It is difficult to say why. Noble qualities could not be pleaded. We were neither righteous nor good. High capacities could scarcely be adduced as the reason. The unredeemed angels were probably of nobler constitution, and are left without means of recovery. It could be no need of us that dictated our redemption. The thought would be unworthy of the self-sufficiency of the great Being. He might have blotted us out, and by his power created another order worthier of his favour. We cannot bottom this ocean. It is best just to say, "for his great love wherewith he loved us."

This subject furnishes—

1. *A firm ground of confidence.* Is it so, that such costly love has been lavished on us considered as deserving objects of divine displeasure? What ground, then, can there be for doubt, or fear, or forboding concerning the bestowment of every thing necessary to complete our salvation and final felicity? "He that spared not

his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things." Rom. viii. 32. Can we doubt his willingness to pardon, cleanse, and keep us, when he has already done what is greater, and done it with a view to those other things? If we can but believe that God gave his Son to die for us, we cannot have difficulty in crediting the realization of lighter favours. Here is—

2. *An example for imitation.* Since we have been loved at such a dear rate, are we not under deep obligation to love one another? United by a common interest in Christ, we are bound to love our Christian brethren in a very high degree. If Jesus be our model, we see at a glance what should be the measure of our love. We may never in point of fact be called upon to discharge the obligation we lie under. But the obligation is expressly affirmed. "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." 1 John iii. 16. Our love should reach to our enemies too, for he loved us being enemies. The love of relatives is natural. The love of friends who love us is best repayment. "If ye love them that love you, what do ye more than others?" To love an enemy is the very triumph of love. Here we have—

3. *An argument for devotedness to Christ.* In life and death we ought to be his. As it is highly improbable that we shall ever be called upon to die for him, we should be all the more ambitious to live to him, and practically acknowledge his lordship over us. "For ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit which are God's." Our utmost devotion and industry will still leave us his everlasting debtors. T. G.

ART. III.—SOME OF THE MORAL ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT AGE.

EVERY successive age is characterized by new moral features, or the re-appearance of old ones that had, for awhile, so far retired from observation as to be practically forgotten. By reason of the great unreliability of historical documents, and the distorted views of men and things obtained by looking at them through the mists of receding ages, we can but seldom arrive at just conclusions on the moral condition of the Past. Still more difficult is it to form a just estimate of the Present. Materials for such estimate are not easily forthcoming. Whether, then, we be able to describe accurately the nature of the moral phenomena that present themselves to our observation, may well be questioned; how much more

the attempt to point out indubitably, *whence* they arise, and *whither* they tend.

If any one should think that we magnify the difficulties of our subject beyond due bounds, he is entitled to his opinion; but even he will admit its importance. If self-knowledge be important to an individual, it is at least equally so to an age. Is a proper diagnosis of a disease important in relation to its cure? It is equally important that the moral symptoms of an age should be understood in order to be treated successfully. For, granted that the remedy in all ages is one, still the method of application will differ as the ages succeed each other. No one will deny that the moral phenomena of his age are, in some respects, different from those of a hundred years ago; accordingly, different measures will have to be adopted in regard to them. Finality cannot be predicated of either civil or religious measures. War is the same in its nature and effects in all ages, but the science, and art, and instruments of "murder on a large scale" are continually undergoing what are called improvements. If the battle of Waterloo was won, as Wellington said, by "hard pounding," it does not follow that a battle could be won in that fashion to-day. Mere valour, however heroic, avails little against the science and inventions of modern warfare. Now there is much work of a destructive as well as of a constructive nature for the teachers of this age to do; but they will not be able to get through with it successfully unless they pretty clearly discern the features of the age, and their causes. Present-day knowledge and present-day measures are what is required. We venerate the men of the past, and rejoice in their success. But we cannot live upon the past, nor reproduce it. Anterior men can no more do our thinking for us than they can do our eating for us. We must create for ourselves. Ringing the changes on certain familiar phrases and statements of doctrine—phrases and statements which once carried conviction and life to thousands, is a dreary enough task now, and it is useless to boot. Stereotyped phrases will glibly slip off the tongue; but they awaken no interest, rouse no enthusiasm. There is no more melancholy spectacle than to see a public teacher rehabilitating forms that have been dead these thirty, and in some cases, three hundred years, and placing them before the people as living entities. The people see that they are only *stuffed figures*, and treat them accordingly. There is a growing conviction that the teachers of the people are behind the age, and therefore ignorant of it. The consequence is, it is said, that they are found to be thrashing straw, and winnowing chaff. What the age wants, is not to be shouted after and abused by men who are behind it, and who don't understand it; but to be confronted, challenged, instructed, rebuked and guided into the right way. And in order to do this bravely, intelligently, and successfully, it is, above all

things, important for the instructors of the people to know the age, its tendencies, and the currents of thought and feeling which are carrying it, for weal or woe, so rapidly along.

To help in some humble measure towards this we essay, with much diffidence, to point out in this paper, *one* of the moral aspects of our time, viz.: *The disappearance of Fear as the lowest motive to Obedience; and the non-appearance of reverential love as the highest motive thereto.* Obedience to legitimate authority is the only safe and happy condition for living a manly life. But who does not see a tendency to ignore all claims put forth as well by legitimate as by illegitimate powers? What respect or consideration, for instance, have the two old councillors of ages past—right and duty—with the people of to-day? And what does the all but universal devotion we witness to those two fashionable moderns—profit and pleasure—portend? Has not the word "ought" lost nearly all its significance? And is not the noble individualising idea contained in the term "responsibility" fading from the minds of men? People can do almost anything in this age, but obey. And this inability, or call it rather, indisposition, evinces itself not only in respect to the claims of the Supreme One; but also in every sphere of delegated authority—the nation, the family, the Church. The people is a Samson, rising up in its strength to burst and fling away those "withs" and "cords" by which, rightly or wrongly, it has been bound these many centuries. Bonds, the moment they are felt to be such, must be resisted and broken. Submission is deemed slavery; licentiousness, liberty.

We could not conceive a state of things like this, except in the absence of the requisite motives to obedience. Fear, as we said, has disappeared. Nowhere do we see it in operation. All the old objects that excited it have vanished or are vanishing. Not to mention the "dread Erinnys, with fiery eyes and hair knotted with snakes," relentless pursuer of the wrongdoers; nor the "signs of heaven," whole armies marching and battling in mid air, nor the indescribable and mysterious beings with which a childish and overgrown imagination used to people forest and glade, and rivers and lakes; nor those once potent allies of the Prince of Darkness, "witches;" nor the arrogated supernatural claims of popes and priests, now become, for most people, quite ridiculous; what are we to make of the widely-spread desire, not "to shut up hell in hell," but to laugh and argue it out of existence? Most observers will admit a general indisposition to listen to anything on punishment, especially eternal punishment. This is not generated by fear of punishment, but by a want of faith in it. The feeling of the time is:—"Why ask us to consider that in which we do not believe?"

The place in the human breast vacated by fear has not yet been filled by reverential love. Were it otherwise there would not be much reason for apprehension. But as there is nothing to fear, so is there nothing to reverence and love. Else what means this high and free handling of sacred things? this abstention on the part of multitudes from all acts of worship, public and private? this pitying and generally polite forbearance towards the "antiquated" ministers of the gospel, their persons and offices? Is not the Bible, by the priests—high and low—of science, regarded as a kind of museum of moral antiquities—antiquities which ministers of religion are employed and paid to describe to such as are curious in those matters? By no means must the preacher grapple with the conscience or rouse the slumbering moral sense by strong emotional appeal; his business now-a-days is to "exchange thought," if he has any, with his hearers, and if not, to descend from the pulpit as quickly as possible and get to his farm or ship. Emotion is childish; assertion, though backed by all the force of conviction, is dogmatism; and dogmatism in these days, when men are sure of nothing, is intolerable. All the lofty Bible ideas that once so moved and elevated the human spirit are stripped of their grandeur. Before the modern, scientific Zerubbabel the mighty and mysterious mountains of fact and doctrine are rapidly becoming plains. Isaiah is no more than Milton; Jeremiah than Tacitus; Solomon than Shakspere. The old Hebrew Bible, so dear to our forefathers, is substituted by "weekly" and "daily" Bibles, inspired and written by sages amidst the smoke of London, that contain, in the opinion of multitudes, a more real and living God's message than the "Scriptures" do. Hence, though the latter are regarded with some amount of veneration as a record and relic of the past, they are put aside from practical use in favour of the current wisdom of the hour. Love—reverence for the Supreme Personal God—for those words and symbols by which more than by aught else he is set forth before the eyes of men—for all that in ages past was deemed sacred, is exorcised from the life of modern society.

Were we asked to account for this so doubtful state of things, we would first enquire whether fear be an essential constituent of our moral nature, or only an accident of it? We have spoken of its disappearance. Were this literally the fact in the case of any sane individual, no doubt it would go far to prove that its former presence was the result of some altogether extraneous cause, and that it was not there as an original affection. In which case its disappearance would be natural enough; since the effect would cease with the cessation of its exciting cause. But such an instance, we believe, is not to be found. Besides, the

disappearance of fear is not the same thing as its destruction. Most certainly fear is an essential affection of our moral nature, and it has an important part to play therein; but its *exaggerated modes* are due to other causes; and it is partly owing to the disproportionate share of influence wielded by it in times past that it is able to exert so little now.

The point may be stated in this form. The past has been characterised by, first—Fear of an *undue number of objects*; and secondly—By an *undue expression of fear towards the right object;* and the discovery of the error, as is usual in such cases, has led to the committal of one of a totally opposite nature. The former error was, indeed, frightful enough. Who can contemplate the vast subject of idolatry—the baseless terrors and cruel sufferings associated therewith—without a depressing sense of the ignorance and weakness of humanity? Who that possesses but a small share of rationality, enlightenment, and religion, can view, without mingled feelings of shame and pity, the effects of an all-enslaving fear upon his species? Fear is the parent of multitudinous monstrosities. How has it peopled the walks and ways of life with goblins and spectres! To barely enumerate its hateful progeny would fill a volume. But here, as a slight sample, behold men "sacrificing to devils;" doing grave homage to a Dagon; feeding the fiery maw of some dread Moloch with their tender offspring; a whole forty thousand of them, with Nicias at their head, sitting stupefied, with arms folded, calmly to be butchered because the moon is in eclipse; and Rome quaking with anguish-fright because beads of sweat are observed to stand upon the marble statues, as is natural against rain; terrified Italians flying for protection to the shrine of some winking Madonna, or *volto santo;* some millions of Irish peasants, yoked like tame cattle to the ponderous car of Romish priestcraft, kept within the traces and made to pull by the supernatural power of whipping possessed by the priestly drivers. Poor, blindfolded, credulous people! What hosts of Nimrods and Jehus, shadowy and substantial, hast thou not created for thyself! How often hast thou been "in great fear where no fear was!" This has now been found out, or is in rapid process of discovery. And should it be a matter of surprise if, in this new awaking, men mistake friends for foes—the precious for the vile? When the goblins are being bidden sternly to depart for Cimmeria, need it be wondered at that some which are not goblins, but veritable "children of light," should receive marching orders also? Men conceive that they have been duped, are angry thereat, and are laying about them with indiscriminate rage. Whereas, were they but in suitable mood for learning the truth, it might be said to them, "Ye have duped yourselves, and have, contrary to the earnest, tearful entreaties and remonstrances

of the enlightened and honest few—apostles and prophets of the race—gone and served Baal.

Neither can we say that fear of the Supreme Being himself, amongst more enlightened people, has been a measured and intelligent one. Which fact is owing partly to the weakness of the human mind; partly to physical disease; and partly, also, to the erroneous or exaggerated views exhibited of him by theologians and others. What other effect, for instance, could the doctrines of unconditional "decrees" be conceived to have on thousands of minds, but that of overwhelming dread, deepening in cases not a few to downright hate? Then, again, there is the statement, said to be founded upon the Word of the Eternal, that none of the heathen can be saved who have not heard the gospel. Is such a statement calculated correctly to represent the will of the Great Father, or the efficacy of the atonement of His Son Jesus Christ? Once more,—The nature, and especially the mode, of God's displeasure, have been wrongly conceived, and therefore wrongly interpreted. The objects of such displeasure, too, have not been properly discriminated; and the result is, a tendency to make light of the whole subject, or to explain it away altogether on anthropomorphic or other grounds. Seeing, then, that "high" doctrines have had to lower themselves; that views once held to be quite Scriptural have had to be abandoned or greatly modified; that stout defenders of the "decrees" have had to fight a losing battle, retreating along the whole line; people have come to the conclusion that the accidents of Bible teaching were the essence thereof; and that if men could be so far mistaken on many points as they are now proved to have been, they are most likely mistaken in the views they now hold. In this way multitudes have vaulted sheer over the gulf that yawns between Calvinism and Epicureanism and have alighted on this hither side.

We should in any case regret the disappearance of fear from the mind of man, considering the important part it was designed to play in morals and religion; but we should certainly regret it the less did we perceive that reverential love had come in "to supply its lack of service." But, as we showed above, this is not the case. Reverence for sacred things is not a characteristic of our era. Reverence,—love for a personal God, who is at once dread Sovereign and dear Saviour—is not on the increase in Christendom. Even such outward, artificial, and spaniel-like reverence as Romish peasants render to Romish priests is on the wane. Here is what one observed at a great Romish festival in St. Peter's: "At the benediction of the City and the world, by the Pope, there was a large crowd, both native and foreign, hundreds of carriages, and thousands of the lower orders of the people from the country; but even of the poor hardly one in twenty

took off his hat, and a still smaller number knelt down. A few years ago not a head was covered, nor was there a knee that did not bow." And why this change at Rome and elsewhere? Many reasons might be assigned, but the following seem worthy of consideration:—

First: *The prominence given to scientific, or what purports to be, scientific teaching.* Much of this is wholly anti-Scriptural, much clearly sceptical; and for the rest, the method of propaganda is so bold and dogmatic that multitudes with but little or no faith are staggered, if not overthrown, by it. The confident talk about "law" and "force" as the groundwork of all phenomena—physical, mental, and moral; the denial of "creation," and pushing up of evolutionism instead, has done more to lessen the feeling of reverence where it did exist, and to hinder its birth where it did not, than most people imagine. If such writers as Spencer, Darwin, Lubbock, and Huxley are to be believed, what is there to reverence, to love? Darwin, indeed, holds—or *held*, for there is no certainty as to the point of view attained by this time—a misty sort of theism; but a theism, so attenuated as to be practically without effect for any one. These writers have done, and are doing, their best to rehabilitate the old figment, that matter is eternal, and God *non est.*

Secondly: *The peculiar position given to man in the current philosophies.* Man used to be a great subject. Pope went so far as to say, in his mad, poetic way, that "the proper study of mankind is man." Pascal, also, undertakes to show the dignity of man from his ruin—to argue his great original capacities from the depth of his present ignorance and misery. Paul, too, if we recollect aright, held the same view. But this, according to the finding of "current thought," is all a mistake. It is not the truth. It is the reverse of the truth. Man is a small subject, and there are no ruins about him. There has been no "fall," but a gradual and victorious march onwards and upwards from a "speck of protoplasm," or a "primordial germ," through that miserable ape of Sir John Lubbock, who, sitting pining in a fit of love-sickness, or hunger, conceived the dread of something more bitter in store for him, and thus became the "Father of Theology," unto the present somewhat wonderful proportions that man presents. Man was not created; he has, in the language of Topsy, literally "grow'd." He is indebted to no one, not even himself, for his present position and endowments in the universe of things. He is the result of blind forces acting in matter. And as he is indebted to no one, so neither is he responsible to any; and being debtless and unaccountable, there is no reason why he should be grateful, or, in other words, a worshipping being. Or, if worship be demanded of him, who more worthy of homage than himself, seeing that he, by great good fortune, is the crown of glory on the head of a developed universe?

Thirdly: *The setting aside the Bible as an objective authority in matters of truth.* The Bible used to be the rule of faith, the standard of morals, the infallible judge of right and wrong, the touchstone as well as repository of truth. It was the *Universal Truth's Clock*, by which all the conscience-clocks in Christendom were regulated. But the moral clock-inspectors are at work, and have been for some centuries past, most industriously: and the conclusion to which they have come and are giving voice to in sundry ways is, that the great moral timepiece is not to be depended on; or, to introduce another metaphor, it has lately been discovered that that glorious luminary, which has been to this poor benighted world a "Sun of Righteousness," is nothing else nor better than a constellation of stars, of different magnitudes; not all of them *fixed* stars, but quite uncertain and unreliable in their movements and aspects. What, in this case, are men recommended to do? To bring each his own "verifying faculty" to bear upon the Bible—to reverse the practice of ages, to correct the Bible by his conscience, and not his conscience by the Bible.

Fourthly: *The almost total neglect of meditation upon sacred themes.* Meditation is the mother of reverence. Secluded seasons devoted to thought are absolutely necessary to the highest kind of reverence. In order to reverence, the mind requires grand and imposing ideals of purity, power and love. But these can only present themselves to the silent, inverted, and reflective mind. How seldom do we find such now! For reasons, take the two following facts: *want* of *will* and want of *way*. This is a hard, practical age. Men are busy with the actual. Meat is more than life, raiment than the body; an actual acre than a possible kingdom. Why sit idly meditating and lifting up your eyes into space? Why ascend into those mountain solitudes so far removed from all the world, where no sound reaches you except it be the beating of your own heart and the music of the spheres? What of hard cash or real objective pleasure have you to show for all your toilsome ascents? Foolish dreamer! Descend; and swing thy muck-rake into the swinging pool of palpable objects, and appropriate what thou canst of them during the few moments that are yet left to thee.

But suppose the will were present, how would time be spared for it? This is, beyond all example, a busy age: plenty of work and play for the muscles and the five senses. For result,—physical paralysis and disease of the heart; mental disarrangement; the faculties of apprehension and perception becoming abnormally developed,—that of reflection shrivelled up and useless; morally, a light skimming over the surfaces of things divine and human; a total obliviousness of the depths that lie beneath. What can be expected, then, but irreverence? Were men, in general, deter-

mined, like Mc Cheyne "to see, every day, the face of God ere they saw the face of man," with what different feelings would they regard each other from what they now do! But we expect that overwrought and over-stimulated society will presently vindicate itself; and that whilst countries like Spain and Italy are breaking up their monastic and conventual establishments, countries like England, France, and America, will be erecting such, and filling them with the jaded devotees of business, idleness, or pleasure.

Such, as it seems to us, is one of the signs of the times. We have uttered the convictions of our mind; convictions based upon such facts as came within our outlook. If we are wrong, we are honestly wrong, and should rejoice, rather than otherwise, at being put right. It was no part of our plan to suggest any special counteractive measures: we are simply a gnomon. We cannot close, however, without adverting to one or two elements of hopefulness. First,—a considerable amount of what in this paper we have called fear, was in times past nothing but *flattery*. This is gone, or going. Slavery of all sorts has been ordered below, and is fast retreating thither; whilst the world, since it was a world, had never so much honesty and liberty as it has now. Secondly,—reverence, love, are indigenous to humanity: they are latent in the human breast; they are not dead, but only sleep. As soon as a voice sufficiently Godlike shall ring through the air, they will awake. Certain revolutions are taking place, and will take place; but the overturning of the Old will be the bringing in of the New and the better. Weltering and pitiless as the storm may be, there is already about the verge of the horizon a belt of light, that betokens brightness and beauty in the days that are to come.

J. W.

Art. IV.—THE DIVINE IN NATURE.

(*Concluded from page* 270)

WHEN we look through the means and appliances of modern knowledge, and see that each fixed star is a sun "clothed in gold" like our own, and refusing to tell us whence that gold comes, and how it is beaten out, who shall dare to call a man unphilosophical, or religious overmuch, for regarding the stars as very shekinahs, and wondering after them with exceeding great wonder? Nay, such wonderment is quite legitimate, and at the same time so irrepressible, as neither to be cooled by the analysis and familiarities of science on the one hand, nor quenched by a God-less and materialising naturalism on the other. Who does not know that the philosophic scientist is the greatest wonderer of all?

"My heart leaps up when I behold
A Rainbow in the sky;"

is not a sentiment of the mere poet. "An undevout astronomer," in whose soul wonder finds no lodgment, "is mad" indeed. No one ever knew so much about it by his own original thought as Sir Isaac Newton, whose name to science will be familiar as a household word to the end of time; and yet no one ever gazed, and pondered, and wondered, and gave it up as a hopeless case more intelligently or more sorrowfully than he. For Sir Isaac was no "Sir Oracle;" else he had never given expression to the modesty and humility contained in that noble confession of his: "I know not what I may have appeared to others, but to myself I seem to have been as a child playing on the sea-shore with little pebbles and prettier shells than ordinary, while the great ocean of truth lay undiscovered before me." Yet this, says Lord Brougham, was "certainly the most extraordinary man that ever lived;" and Halley says of him: "Nor is it possible for man to be nearer God;" whilst the Marquis De l'Hopital's serious question, whether Newton ate, drank, and slept like other men, chimes in with the uncommon admiration which his extraordinary genius and extraordinary achievements excited. A man of this order is great *enough* to wonder; and, moreover, great enough never to cease wondering; great enough to be humble; and, moreover, great enough to *confess* his ignorance. Familiarity did not breed contempt in this man; for well did he know that the stars, like all the rest of nature, are a secret—though an open one—unfathomed and unfathomable by human science. Therefore, who can blame one for sticking to the "shekinah;" at least, till the "ichabod" be proved? In the material firmament, no less than in the moral, the stars do indeed "dwell apart," and but "serve to shew the darkness visible," to optics so weak and circumscribed as ours. That this is so—that the orbs on high are still among the unsolved problems, is strikingly illustrated by the following dicta, respectively uttered by two very great, though very different, men: "The mystery and the burden of all this unintelligible world" of stars elicited from the one a groan, as it were of despair; and from the other, what we may call, perhaps, a hysterical laugh. Thomas Carlyle and a friend of his were returning together late from an evening party. The stars were out in all their glory. We know what the great Psalmist would have said in such a case. But there are always cynical (hard word, but *true*,) growlers to whom all looks wrong; as well as the "sweet singers" to whom "whatever is, is right," sin alone excepted. Diogeneses, of the "Tub" description, are by no means as yet an extinct species. The martial wasp with his angry "horn," no less than the social and "singing" bee, is doubtless necessary in some way "not understood" to the nicely

balanced order of the mighty scheme; so that, we should not find fault after all; but rather believe that there is "good in everything," and a veritable jewel in the toad's head. "Splendid!" exclaimed Carlyle's friend, gazing up at the "platines of bright gold;" but there was no response. The great hero-worshipper was clearly no star-worshipper. At length, "a voice fell" growling "from that alpine height" (as if the Great Bear himself had spoken), and said, "It is a sad sight!" *For*—

> "All looks infected to the infected spy,
> As all looks yellow to the jaundiced eye."

To this "Doubting Thomas" the stars *appeared*, and we believe still appear, to be the very opposite of what they really *are*—a sad sight! The *mot*, at all events, was characteristically orignal. In passing, however, let us put down that Thomas Carlyle is a *Teufelsdrockh*, of whom we can say, "with all his faults we love him still." Nay, a Teufelsdrockh whom we greatly admire and esteem for such sentiments as the following:—"The man who cannot wonder, who does not habitually wonder (and worship), were he President of innumerable Royal Societies, and carried the *Mecanique Celeste* and *Hegel's Philosophy*, and the epitome of all laboratories and observatories, with their results, in his single head, is but a pair of spectacles behind which there is no eye. Let those who have eyes look through him, then he may be useful. That progress of science which is to destroy Wonder, and in its stead substitute Mensuration and Numeration, finds small favour with Teufelsdrockh, much as he values the two latter processes."

The other celebrated individual to whom we have alluded is Samuel Taylor Coleridge. In his *Table Talk* occurs the following: "I never could feel any force in the arguments for a plurality of worlds, in the common acceptation of that term. A lady once asked me,—'What, then, could be the intention of creating so many great bodies so apparently useless to us?' I said, *I did not know, except perhaps to make dirt cheap.*" The general opinion we need not say is altogether different to this, and so no doubt it *ought* to be. The last part of the paragraph, however, is better than the first, and stands as follows: "What, in the eye of an intelligent and omnipotent being, is the whole sidereal system, to the soul of one man for whom Christ died." Many men of many minds, truly. Nor is another saying less true, that wisdom is not always with the wise.

This "sad sight," and this "cheap dirt," are strange words to have been expressed by men who had received and reflected every ray of intellectual light that had beamed upon the world. How little are men! Nay, how little is man! In reference to the starry universe, and the comparative nescience of science in regard to it, well may we repeat the grand old inspired words: "It is

high as heaven, what canst thou know! It is deep as hell, what canst thou do!" Yea, verily, this mystery of stars is a sea which no Captain Cook will ever circumnavigate; a silent sphynx, which has no tongue even for Presidents of the Royal Society; a gordian knot, which no Alexander will ever cut; a problem which He alone can solve—

"Who looks down on all that soars and spans immensity."

For this unspeakable and unthinkable universe is after all but a whisper-word of His: and the thunder of His power neither philosopher nor archangel could hear and live!

It is curious, however, to observe what we little creatures think, as also how differently we think on so vast a subject. The great positivist Comte tells us that the heavens declare no other glory than that of Hipparchus, Newton, and Laplace; whilst another great name among the powers of "modern thought" delivers himself thus: "It is enough if we could show how these things [meaning all natural things] happen without the interference of supernatural agency." "*If* we could." But this is more than the Rev. Baden Powel could ever do; for strange to say, it is *reverence* that speaks thus! Meanwhile the heavens still shine on, and declare the glory of *God*, as all men believe, except a peculiar few whom it would seem "much learning hath made mad."

The late Dr. Whewell, of Cambridge, wrote a book to make it appear possible, if not even probable, that our own planet is the only inhabited, and, may-be, inhabitable, world in the universe. This book caused quite a sensation at the time; and, certainly, its learned author possessed, in the very highest degree of development, the faculty of making "the worse appear the better reason." But "a neighbour came and searched him," by means of a book almost equally clever, and certainly much more sensible. This was the late Sir David Brewster, of Edinburgh, who strenuously endeavoured to demonstrate the probability of there being, not simply more inhabited worlds than one, but untold myriads. We well remember reading those books when first published, and naturally enough asking ourselves at the finish,

"When doctors disagree, who shall decide?"

It is as impossible to know beforehand what great men will say on any given subject, as it is sometimes difficult to account for the conclusions at which they arrive. Has not Cardinal Cullen (whom, however, we beg pardon for ranking among *great* men, Archbishop tho' he now be,) declared that the sun moves round the earth, and is only six feet in diameter? this being the astronomy to which the monks have affixed their imprimatur! Rome was not built in a day; and neither is Rome to be pulled down in a day. No doubt this Father Cullen would have given, as in fact he does give, his voice against Galileo. A man who does here, as they do at Rome, would certainly have

done at Rome as Rome did, first in 1615, and again in 1633; on both of which occasions the great Florentine was compelled by the Inquisition, "in solemn conclave met," (the infallibles!) to abjure the system of Copernicus. Luckily for science and the world, Newton was born in 1642, the year in which Galileo died. No doubt this Father Cullen, who seems to be a perfect specimen of the Father-type, would also have refused to look through the persecuted astronomer's demonstrating telescope, and been zealously affected enough to smash (as they did at Rome) as many of those heretical instruments as he could have laid his holy hands upon. By the way, if, like Hamlet's father, poor Galileo could "revisit the glimpses of the moon," we doubt not but he would be able to tell us where the current antagonism to the Copernican system, which is making as much noise in the world as it can and dare, mainly comes from. A bad thing to have a bad name, but a worse to deserve it. *Semper eadem!* We know whose motto *that* is. Rome, however, is not the only bigot in the world, nor, for that matter, the only persecutor either. Rome means human nature, and a pope means him that lives in one's own heart. The best of men and the best of communities are *made* best by the grace of God.

Strange to say, a book which we ourselves possess, written by an able Presbyterian divine, contains, among other narrow and antiquated views, the following, than which Cardinal Cullen himself could not have expressed in a more dogmatic manner:—"This world is the first work of God and the last. Before it God did nothing from eternity; after it he shall rest for ever. It contains all perfection, all imperfection, all beauty, all deformity, all virtue, all vice, all love, all hate." Such is the doctrine of a learned theologian, and professor, too, of the nineteenth century! Surely, he has never read Chalmers' *Astronomical Discourses*, not to speak of Newton's *Principia*, or Herschel's *Astronomy*. *Are* we veering round again to the Ptolemaic, or some other archaic system of the universe? Was Newton only a dreamer after all, and the Copernican idea but a vagary of the mind? as Lord Bacon, great inductionist though he was, declared it to be, to the end of his life. The doubts, too, lately expressed in somewhat high quarters as to the fundamental validity of some of Newton's demonstrations, makes one look about him, and wonder whither we are drifting. Well may it be said: "Cursed is the man who trusteth in man; that maketh flesh (or, as it would seem, brains either,) his arm." For our own part, we pretend to no *certain* knowledge on the subject. We have a belief, but no dogmatism. Our motto on this, as on many other questions, is that of Montaigne, *Que sais je?* (*What know I?*) And, without being a disciple of Pyrrho exactly, we feel that we can homologate the following sentiment of that venerable Wesleyan minister, the late Dr. Dixon: "For myself, I am pretty

much come to this, to believe nothing but the Bible; for everything else seems to be so variable, so changeable, so mutable. There are so many bright and dark sides about everything, that we can feel little satisfaction in anything but the demonstrations of the Bible. Thank God! there's light there, as bright, and certain, and unquestionable, and glorious as the light of day! *Keep to that.*" At the same time, with the following, we also agree. As far as it goes, it is a sentiment grand enough, and broad enough, for all of a man's ethico-philosophical thinking to proceed upon. Immanuel Kant, one of the greatest thinkers that ever appeared, not excepting Plato and Aristotle themselves, thus expresses himself: "Two things there are, which, the oftener and the more steadfastly we consider, fill the mind with an ever new and ever rising admiration and reverence: the STARRY HEAVEN above, and the MORAL LAW within. Of neither am I compelled to seek out the reality, as veiled in darkness, or only to conjecture the possibility, as beyond the hemisphere of my knowledge. Both I contemplate as lying clear before me, and I connect both immediately with my consciousness. The one departs from the place I occupy in the outer world of sense, and expands beyond the bounds of imagination; this connection of my body rising beyond worlds, and systems blending into other systems, and protending it also into the illimitable times of their periodic movement to its commencement and perpetuity. The other departs from my invisible self, from my personality, and represents me in a world truly infinite indeed; but whose infinity can be tracked out only by the intellect with which also my connection, unlike the fortuitous relation I stand in to all worlds of sense, I am compelled to recognize as universal and necessary. In the former, the first view of a countless multitude of worlds *annihilates*, as it were, *my importance as an animal product*, which, after a brief and that incomprehensible endurement with the powers of life, is compelled to refund its constituent matter to the planet—itself an atom in the universe—on which it grew. The other, on the contrary, *elevates my worth as an intelligence*, even without limit, and this through my personality in which the moral law reveals a faculty of life independent of my animal nature, nay, of the whole material world; at least, if it be permitted to infer as much from the regulation of my being, which a conformity with the law exacts; proposing, as it does, my moral worth for the absolute, and of my activity, conceding no compromise of its imperative to a necessitation of nature, and spurning in its infinity the conditions and boundaries of my present transitory life."

Now, the great point in this grand, if not very clearly expressed paragraph is this,—the synthesis or connection which is affirmed between the starry heavens and the moral being, man. The dis-

parity between the stars and man is only apparent—the two lines of grandeur, in reality, running parallel to each other. The material grandeur is equalled by the moral greatness. The universe and man are united by a nexus or connecting link, which link is the moral nature or God-image in the latter. It is quantity equalled by quality. In other words, it is infinite bigness brought to its bearings and level by infinite greatness. The starry heavens,—they are the work of God's fingers. The moral law in man,—that is a reflection of God's nature. God has written his power on the heavens. He has written *himself* on the human soul.

I cannot *com*prehend an infinity of worlds; but I can *ap*prehend it. I have the notion and the sentiment. A great matter this. For therein we not only find a hint of the "image," but feel the very "stirring of the Divinity," within us. The lower animals look downward to the earth. We look upward to the stars.

> "They come forth and keep short watch on earth,
> And then lie down to sleep."

We have the sentiment of the universe, and "thoughts that wander through eternity." But, having *God*, we are rich without the universe, and need not covet it; following God we shall not be lost among the stars. If I am worthy of the friendship of God, then I am worthy of the stars also. If God has made us great the stars cannot make us little. If God expands my heart, a thousand worlds cannot make it collapse. "The Kingdom of God is within you"! and if *that* can be got into us, we can hold something greater than the universe. Suns cannot warm the soul, nor nature give me the perfection I seek. God has crowned the heavens with stars, but me he has crowned with a soul. He has put a material shekinah round the stars; he has put glory, and honour, and immortality around me.

> "Behold yon midnight glory, worlds on worlds!
> Amazing pomp! redouble that amaze;
> Ten thousand add, and twice ten thousand more;
> Then weigh the whole. One soul outweighs them all,
> And calls th' astonishing magnificence
> Of unintelligent creation—poor."

The universe is a thing: I am a person. The universe is dead (for motion without sensibility is certainly not life): I am alive with more lives than one. The universe is unconscious: I think of God, and live in thoughts brighter and bigger than the stars. The universe is deaf and dumb, and has no central heart that can respond to the thoughts that breathe and words that burn up from the secret place of *my* thunder. "All my springs are in Thee"—not in *it*. "My mind my kingdom is;" a greater kingdom than Cæsar's; for the universe itself cannot fill *it*. If God is mine, so is his creation. If God says, "Because I live ye shall live also,"

we shall roll away the universe from the door of our sepulchre, and "clap our wings of fire" on heights that look down on the farthest star. If the philosophers bring the worlds between me and God, I can find my way through, and, brushing them aside as a very little thing, arrive at my Father's house to "dwell in the secret place of the Most High, and repose under the shadow of the Almighty." If I have God, I have all; if I have not God, I have nothing. Compared with the moral and spiritual, materialism elaborated to infinity, and wearing its crown of many stars, is as the small dust of the balance, or as the shadow to the substance—the dream to the reality—the body to the soul. The things which are seen, because material, are temporal; but the things which are not seen, because spiritual, are eternal. I already "walk about 'mid worlds unrealised," which are grander and of more account than the ones I realise. Suns are big, but souls are great; suns shine, but souls think; suns go out, but souls

> "Shall flourish in immortal youth,
> Unhurt amid the war of elements,
> The wreck of matter, and the crash of worlds."

Science has lost stars from the astronomical map; but did God ever lose a soul from the Book of Life? Tycho Brahe, not to mention others, once saw a world on fire; and although he did not hear its seventh trumpet, or its heavens pass away with a great noise, yet he did see it grow small by degrees and ominously less, till it vanished out of his sight, and, no doubt, not less out of the material system itself. Now, if Alexander could have conquered a thousand of such worlds, and as well could have filched from the Wandering Jew his charmed life, to enjoy them for long centuries of time, what would have been their worth to him when "a hand he could not see" loosened their gases and let them go; and "a voice he could not hear" let fall its doom-word upon himself in a fearful "Thou fool! this night thy soul shall be required of thee?" The worlds burnt up, and the soul gone to its *other* world! Well might he who knew what was in man, and what was in the world, ask with the wisest lips that ever spake in time, "What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

A star is a glory; a soul is a glory that excelleth. The one being a shekinah, the other *the* shekinah; for, as Chrysostom says, "The true Shekinah is man." Now of which should you suppose does God think more? Of a sun that shines in the strength of its unconscious forces, and could not hear, although it might obey, the command of a Joshua; or, of a soul that loves with all the powers of its spiritual nature; that presses forward with lively instincts, which carry it infinity-wards; and that is rich in senses and intuitions which can already set it in "heavenly places," and lay it open to communication from, and communion

with, the Father of spirits? Do the angels of God in heaven, who rejoice over one sinner that repenteth, "see with equal eye" a Lazarus perish and a sparrow fall? Or, when those glorious beings were going with that "poor man" to Abraham's bosom, did they become careless, think you, of their precious charge, through admiration of the worlds they passed? Was there some danger of those mighty orbs taking the shine out of the spirit of that just man made perfect? Angels, we should suppose, do not think so much of material magnitude and splendour as do we, with our infinitely smaller faculties and experience. One of them, manipulating and acting in a world like ours, could, no doubt, as Milton says,

> "Wield its elements,
> And arm himself with all the force
> Of all its regions."

Or, standing, with one foot on its sea and the other on its land, "strike flat its thick rotundity," or blot it out of the star-map altogether, so that its place should know it no more for ever. What *is* this thick rotundity? Is it *really* as thick as it appears to be? The answer is: Take away the principles of attraction and repulsion, and then look at it. In that case it would be just as thin as it is now thick; so that one might piteously exclaim, A world too wide for its shrunk dimensions, and its big circumference turned again to ultimate atoms, "pipes" to the tune of "without form and void!" Materiality, then, though the god of some people's idolatry, is not such a *substantial* thing, after all! All the real matter in the planetary system, Newton conjectured, might possibly go into a nutshell! The universe! great word! how grand it sounds! and how big it looks!

> "But strip it of its clothing,
> 'Twould totter on the edge of nothing."

Some hidden spring need but to be touched by the Hand that knows where it lies, to reduce the vast scene to its original chaos! Nor are we talking poetry, but science. And, the same reduction of maximum to minimum could be brought about in another way. "The eye sees what it brings the power to see." Now, take away that optical instrument, with the "shaping" mind which looks through it, and where would be the glory of the universe? We need no Bishop Berkeley to answer us the question. A drop of rain in falling refracts a ray of light, and lo! then is that beautiful object, the rainbow. But, *if there was no living eye, there would consequently be no rainbow!* If we do not create, exactly, still we do something very like it. The philosophic Wordsworth says, "What we behold we half create." "Nay," replies his brother poet, "Christopher North," "what we

behold we *nine-tenths* create." The stars "declare the glory of God,"—not to stars, but to *man*, who alone possesses the seeing eye and the understanding mind.

"If I am nothing before the universe," observes Pascal, "I am a universe before nothing." But it is the body which is the "nothing," not the mind; and it is the mind that makes the man. We would reverse Pascal's thought, and say: the universe is nothing before the man. Fear not, my brothers, for ye are of more value than many stars; and he who telleth the number of them also numbers the very hairs of your head. The greatest thing on earth is man, and the greatest thing in man is mind; whilst the greatest thing in mind is its capability of God. God has put his glory *on* the star; but *in* the man. It is impossible to say whether God conceals or reveals himself more. The stars reveal his glory, but conceal his person. The firmament showeth his handiwork, but holdeth back the face of his throne and spreadeth a cloud upon it. How much greater in meaning is the word God, than the word universe! In speaking of the stars and man, it is not only an immense oversight, but an error of the most vital and fatal moment to leave out a third element—God. This element is the hinge on which the whole question, in its higher aspects, turns. Without God, the universe is but mechanism and fate? Without God, man is but an intellectual animal that walketh in a vain show and spendeth his strength for naught. But, with God, the stars put on a new lustre; whilst, with God, the man shines brighter than the stars. God's hand moves among the stars; God's heart beats among the souls. The "hand" is a Creator's; the "heart" is a Father's. "Nothing before the universe!" What! the living one nothing before the dead one? Was, and is, the Lord Jesus Christ "nothing before the universe? Is not Christianity a greater universe? A Christian is the highest style of man, and man is the highest style of God's workmanship. The first Adam was greater than the world; and the second Adam is greater than the first. "*Christ is the greatness of man.*" We are Christ's and Christ is God's. Thence, "all things are ours." Without its man the world would be without its moral purpose; without the Christ or revealed God the world would be without a moral bond to unite it to the Infinite; and without its God the universe would be a circumference without a centre—an effect without a cause—an utter impossibility.

God! That is the name to which the Newtons, the Pascals, and the Boyles, with all of the highest order of intellect "not spoiled by philosophy," uncover the head and bow the knee. To them the cosmoses of worlds is but "the altar-stair that slopes through darkness" up to that Name. The universe, visible and

invisible! That is my Father's house of many mansions, to which I am co-heir with my elder brother Jesus, now passed into the heavens and seated on the right hand of Power, where he holds the keys and hidden springs of all worlds. Hear, O heavens! and give ear, O earth! this so exalted personage, stooping to touch the loftiest star, holding all destinies in the hollow of his hand, is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, and was once tempted in all points like unto us; tempted to think himself "nothing before the universe;" tempted to fall down before materialism, with its kingdoms and glories; tempted, *yet without sin.* What a mercy and salvation that, to the universe and to us!

"Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee."

Here, the whole Deity, as well as the whole Humanity, is known. Here, is a glory above the brightness of the sun, shining round about us, and, no doubt, "far round illuming" other worlds. Infinite is orbed in Finite, as was primeval light in the body of the sun. "In Aristole," says Dante, "we have the master of all who think." But, "a greater than Solomon is here." In Jesus Christ we have the master of all who condescend—the master of all who love—the master of all who suffer—and the master of all who triumph. A greater than the greatest is here. Even a Byron could say (as Rousseau had virtually said before him), "If ever God was man, and man God, Jesus Christ was both." "And the woman, perceiving that it was Jesus, said unto him, Rabboni (not Rabbi)!" the word meaning *Great* Master. And we ourselves, perceiving that all power is given unto Him in heaven and in earth, also exclaim, Rabboni!

No doubt, great is the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh. Still, to our thinking, God in Christ is a less mystery than God out of Christ. Of the Infinite, as such, what can we make?

Nature conceals the Deity, and, like the Egyptian god, stands before us with the finger on its lips; but man finds Him, and reaching through the crowding worlds, touches the hem of his garment and lives. Like finds like. Love begets love; and we love Him because He first loved us. My soul thirsteth, panteth, longeth, yea, crieth out—for what? Not for the unconscious stars, but for the living God; not for the revelations of astronomy, but for the revelations of Christianity; not for Nature, with its "cold material laws," but for the Bible, with its personal Providence and its Immanuel or God with us. The mere idea of God with the stars has but little practical value to creatures such as we, who are so far from them. Were He *only* with the stars, then, indeed, *would* they be "a sad sight." Thank God! there are more things than

stars in the universe; more voices than theirs speaking unto us. To Elijah the still small voice spake louder than the wind or the earthquake; and to us the voice of our intuitional God-consciousness sounds louder than the "speech" of firmaments and the march of worlds. Whatever the stars are, or are not, they cannot satisfy the soul; and the soul *being* satisfied with God and his Christ, does not care what they are—nay, can *look down* upon them, high and many, as they are. "I do not think," says one, "that it is in the power of God to make anything to be our happiness but himself." All the suns in existence could not warm me further than the skin; and all the firmaments in space could not fill anything in me but the eye and the imagination. There are many stars, but there are but one God, one Christ, one reason, one conscience, and one "great white throne." We are strangers and pilgrims in this material creation, seeking something "far better" beyond it. We are walking with God through this infinity of stars, and Christ has gone on before to prepare a place for us. Our Companion is invisible to the bodily, but not to the spiritual, eye. The sun is invisible when a cloud covers him, but still we feel the warmth of his beams. The very soul which knows and does all, is itself invisible. Stars may be milestones on the pathway of science, but not on the pathway of the soul. How many semi-diameters are we from heaven? How many stars are there between us and God? We may have no lion's share of the universe, but we have of God, who took upon himself the seed of Abraham. Like Jacob of old, we may go limping through the world; but like him we have found our Bethel, and set up our pillar.

"I think not much of thine or mine,
I hear the roll of the ages,"

and have seen the ladder with its ascending and descending angels. Its lowest round reaches my feet, and its highest the throne that is higher than the stars. If God has made me great, the stars cannot make me little. The stars do not minify, but magnify man. In discovering their extent, he takes possession of them. They belittle him only to those who separate him from God. Man is not a result of "natural," but of supernatural, "selection." He did not come of "protoplasm," but of God. "Now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be." We may occupy a lower plane, but we circle in a wider orbit, than the stars. Our connection with God is more intimate than our connection with the universe. God has given us more than the universe—he has given us himself. Not fixed like the stars, we are going on to perfection. The more worlds, the better; the more worlds, the more to enjoy. The stars have been called the flower heaven—flowers of the garden around the Golden City. Man yet but a minor: he has not as yet taken his rank. He is not as yet qualified

to enjoy his estate; seems not worthy of it. If he rose not above his present state much more would be lost to him than the stars. How little of God could he enjoy? Qualified to enjoy him, his divine perfections, his eternities of life, of what else will he be unworthy?

> "Between two worlds life hovers like a star
> 'Twixt night and morn upon the horizon's verge;
> How little do we know that which we are,
> How less what we may be."

More worlds than one! *Are* there more? We would not speak positively,—how could we? but we *believe* there are. We think we can see reasons why there should be; but we can see none why there should not be. It is, no doubt, a wonderful thing if there are many inhabited worlds in the universe; but it would certainly be a more wonderful thing if there was only one. *The* wonder, however, is, that there should be any at all. For simple existence, existence at all, must ever appear to philosophic thought, as the greatest of all miracles and the profoundest of all mysteries. "To *be*, or not to be, that is the question." And, after the being of anything, what is there that may *not* be? The possibility, or the non-possibility of world-creation—that is the question; a question to which the existence of our own world is a sufficient answer. We may have "no experience in the creation of worlds," and no knowledge of the number of worlds; but we *have* experience and knowledge of the existence of *a world*; and from such a standpoint of fact, we can see the possibility, at least,—and, other things being equal, the probability also of there being many such worlds as ours in infinite space. At the same time we must not forget how extremely limited our knowledge is; nor, also, that God's ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts. Yet, having these elements given us,—a creator, a created world, and an infinite space to create in,—how can we possibly avoid the conclusion of there being more worlds than one?

Before pronouncing yon "lambent flames" a "sad sight," it would be well to know what, and why, they really are. It is "sad" no doubt, to think that Evil has probably made its "nest among the stars" also; but, at the same time, it is pleasing to remember that Good is there too. And in any probationary world, at least, good is sure to overcome evil, *in the long run*. Analogy is a great teacher; and analogy has a great deal to say about the stars. We know a few things respecting them, which seem to intimate to us that neither are *they* exempt from the terrible principle of evil. We know that stars take fire and disappear from those heavens. We know that the moon has its volcanoes; and we know also, that if it have its "man," the absence of an atmosphere must be a very great inconvenience to him. We know that "the red planet Mars"

has his howling winters and his polar snows. What his "constitution of man" is, we cannot tell; but to thin-skinned creatures like us, *cold* is unquestionably an unpleasant sensation, and a physical evil. We know that, among other vicissitudes, the planets are regularly visited by the shadow of night, and in the case of their being peopled, by the shadow of death as well. Hence we cannot predicate of the planetary stars, at least, as we can of heaven, that "there is no night there." Whether or not they have need of "any candle" is best known to themselves. "If a nineteenth century" extends to them also, they have, in all probability, by this time got gas. On the hypothesis that the asteroids are the fragments of a disrupted planet, once "sounding on its dim and perilous way," in an orbit lying between Mars and Jupiter, it is clear that some "curse" has found its way into the heavens, no less than into the earth. Those numerous fragments, which fresh discoveries are continually making more, occupy an expanse no less than 300 millions of miles in diameter. Plenty of room! and passing pitiful to our "little schemes of thought," that it has nothing in it but the scattered *débris* of an earlier world! This *is* something of "a sad sight!" But, as all is not gold that glitters, so all hypothesis is not true that is plausible. On the hypothesis in question how soon and how suddenly are

"Atoms and systems into ruin hurled!"

And how true that neither worms nor worlds know what a day may bring forth! Great is the mystery of God; and *as* great is the mystery of Evil. Goëthe once said, that "all the course of providence is the same as the severe God of the Hebrews;" which simply means, as Butler proves, that the Natural and the Revealed are in perfect analogy and harmony with each other. God is Love, but there is Something other than God at work in the universe. We know no more; and we care not to penetrate much into the subject. We remember the suggestive line,—

"Teach me some philosophy, and make me mad."

Evil, it would seem, has cast its shadow on the stars, no less than on the souls, of God's creation. Nay, that terrible thing has "unsphered" angels as well as worlds. But if there is evil, there is also good; if there is a Satan, there is also a Saviour; if there is mystery of iniquity, there is also light of Christianity; if there is a bad time come, there is a good time coming; if there is a past eternity in which things have gone wrong, there is also a future eternity in which things will come right again. "What thou knowest not now, thou shalt know hereafter," is a grand promise to carry about with one. Then, instead of trying to comprehend the philosophy of evil, let us try to apprehend the evilness of it; thus striving to escape both its allurements and its consequences.

Evils we cannot avoid, but sin we can; and even evils are among the "all things" that "work together for good to them that love God." The *philosophy* of things! Alas, my brother!

> "Little flower, if I could understand what thou art;
> Root and all, and all in all,
> I should understand what God and man is."

When people ask for the philosophy of things, they little know what they ask for. Strictly speaking, there is no such thing *to us*, as philosophy, which means the *rationale*, or true sense of things. It should be remembered that we think at present through a brain —a material medium that cannot stand the falling of a tile upon it, and that many small matters can turn upside down. How, then, could such a fragile thing bear the weight of a universe, or know what God is? A star completely confounds us; and so does an atom. Not only is a living God above our comprehension; a living worm is too much for us; we cannot attain even unto *it*! As we have already seen, there is none so humble as the true philosopher. It is his nescience, which *he* principally feels. A greater than Socrates or Newton has declared in the face of the whole world of savants and sages to the end of time,—"If any man thinketh he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know." As for himself, he "saw through a glass darkly (enigmatically.)" An Athanasian once silenced an Arian with the profound remark: "Tell me what God *is*, and make me mad." There is much said and written at present about "first principles," "fire-mist," "protoplasm," "natural selection," "transmutation of species," and what not, but believe us, *the* truth, as it is in the nature of things, is as far away from us as ever.

As regards the question of more inhabited worlds than one, we do not, as we have said, feel justified in dogmatising; we really know so little. But we do feel justified in saying that if astronomy is a true science, analogy a true guide, and reason a true principle, there *seems* to be no doubt whatever of there being, not only more worlds than one, but *infinitely* more. And what a thought! Too large adequately to think, and certainly too large adequately to express. How vast the universe! Between our own solar system, over an interval of space, something tremendous to think of, lies the system of the fixed stars. Why, the nearest and brightest of these is at least thirty-two millions of millions of miles distant. Then the next system to Sirius and his planets, according to analogy, will be about the same distance, less or more; and so on *ad infinitum*. "How reason reels!" In round numbers, light travels at the rate of two hundred thousand miles in a second of time; and yet it takes a ray of light a thousand years to cross

that silver streak of stars—the Milky Way! And how many Milky Ways are there not in the universe! But it is *God's* universe. And He is great *enough* to be mindful of us also. "He telleth the number of the stars." A great thing to do—very! But he doeth a greater thing than that even,—"He bindeth up the wounds of the broken in heart!" Magnitude is a little thing to Him. Multiplicity does not confuse Him. To Him a thousand years are as one day; and to Him a thousand Milky Ways are as one star. He can stoop from the heights of the Godhead to make the lily grow; he can see through a thousand worlds a sparrow fall, and he can hear through the rush and thunder of a thousand systems, the sighing of a contrite heart. The God of the stars is the God of you and of me; the God of nature is the God of the Bible also. The Maker of worlds is also the Father of spirits, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and "*our* Father." So, "Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things; and blessed be his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen and Amen."

The following paragraph from a recent writer is worthy of consideration. It is *à propos* to the subject of our article, and seems to go about as deep as mere human analysis can do. Nothing is more apparent than that we are sure to find God if we go *deep* enough. Not only is the handwriting to be seen burning along the surface, and glowing in flower and in star; but the personal power *itself* is to be found working in the depths, creating life, and shaping organic form—sitting vigilant alike at the centre where ancient worlds do roll, and where newest protoplasms are just beginning to swell with the mysterious leaven of life. If a "plastic nature" be the soul of the world, it is not the less true that a living God is the life of that soul. Underneath all matter there is spirit—underneath all law there is power—underneath all phenomena there are noumena, or a divine substratum—underneath and round about the "one stupendous whole" of created matter and created mind there are the Everlasting Arms. The paragraph we refer to is this:—"The view we have at present taken is entirely materialistic, and many people stop there; it is, however, only one-half of the subject; the spiritual half has been left out, and that will probably prove, with increasing knowledge, by far the most important. Invariable sequence is all we have at present considered, and causation is a very different thing. Causation is where the mind perceives a necessary connection based on purpose. The comparatively new discovery of the persistence and correlation of force has thrown new light on this subject. 'Cause and effect' is the transformation or correlation

of force. The persistence of force, of the conservation of energy, shows that force is indestructible, and therefore an entity; that is, force is inseparable from that of which it is the force—from entity, as motion is from the something moved. Here motion has been confounded with force, action with the agent, the sign with the thing signified. It is said that motion, which is the *sign* to us of the active agent, or power, producing motion, is indestructible, and motion is, of course, inseparable from the thing moved. But the thing moved or moving is not the cause of its own motion; the cause of motion is force, or the spiritual entity it represents. It is this erroneous way of viewing things that is the cause of the muddle in the minds of most scientists of the present day on the subject. It used to be thought, and is now by old and obsolete materialists, that this force belonged to matter, but this has proved to be a mistake; no more force ever comes out of matter than has first been put into it. Matter is merely the medium of the correlation or transformation of force, and the qualites of matter are the force put into matter thus transformed. Heat, light, magnetism, electricity, attraction, repulsion, chemical affinity, life, mind, pass rapidly from one into the other; we infer, therefore, that they are modes of action or manifestations of the same force, the difference in their manifestation depending upon the matter, structure, or medium through which they pass. But what is this force? Of its real nature or essence we know nothing. We can only liken it to something else. The force most clearly represented to us in our consciousness is that of our own wills, what we call will-power; and as we have seen that all force is one, and always tending to purpose, we infer that it is intelligent, and if intelligent, conscious; and the conscious action of power is will. All force is power, therefore is will-power—conscious or automatic—and we come, I think legitimately to the conclusion thus expressed by W. R. Grove, that, 'Causation is the will, creation the act, of God.'"

To the belief of a Divine in Nature—of a supernatural or infra-natural everywhere underlying and directing the natural—truly scientific and philosophic thought is all the while coming more and more. Second-class philosophy may do without a God, but first-class, never! The pantheism of Spinoza and Fichte, of Schelling and Hegel, which has so long perniciously influenced the higher thought of Europe and America, is beginning to give way before a scientific method and a stern analysis, by means of which it is found that neither a universe *without* a God, nor a universe that *is* God, will satisfy the demands of the head, much less of the heart, but a universe both created and conserved *by* God. In a word, it is evidently towards Christian theism that our age, in the highest phases of its speculative thinking, is beginning to turn round and tend, as its last analysis and final resting-place. It is

no longer found to be an *it*, but a *Him* by whom all things at once exist and consist.

What a different President the British Association has got this year, to what filled its chair, and astonished its ears, last year! Dr. Carpenter's name is as great in physical science as Sir William Thomson's, and decidedly greater in metaphysical; and he has delighted the religious world by declaring before the *elite* of British *savans* his belief to be, that "one *God* worketh all in all." This is a step in the right direction; and, as compared with the step of last year, and, making that the standpoint, it is, moreover, a step from the "ridiculous to the sublime;" thus reversing the order of Napoleon's celebrated saying. Linnæus tells us that there are "no leaps *in* nature;" but assuredly Sir William Thomson showed us that there are "leaps *out of* nature," when he talked of the *meteoric* origin of life in our globe! Last year's Address was no doubt a wonderful affair, seeing that it astonished the natives even of Edinburgh; but the present year's is wonderful too, and full of evidence that Dr. Carpenter's *common sense*, in dialectic encounter, would be more than a match for Sir William's *uncommon*; at least on that particular phase of philosophy which may be designated as the theologics of physical science. Dr. Carpenter's views of the genesis of our notion of cause and effect are precisely those of Sir John Herschel, as given in the former part of this article. The seat of force, he says, is mind, will, and *nothing else*. Walter's printing machine, throwing off 15,000 sheets an hour, furnished Dr. Carpenter with a beautiful illustration. He says, "The glorious universe is a vast apparatus of machinery, the laws of which are accessible to the scientific inquirer; but when he has discovered, classified, and named them all, he must not overlook the hand that starts and guides that machinery, which is the hand of God. To set up those laws as self-acting, and as either excluding or rendering unnecessary the power which alone can give them effect, appears to be as *arrogant as it is unphilosophical.*" Let the materialists, pantheists, evolutionists, fire-mist worshippers, *et hoc genus omne*, take *that*! And, as we are "ruminant animals," reflect upon *that!*

No doubt there are hard questions besetting this view of a Divine in Nature, pervading, animating, and wielding the magnificent and immeasurable Whole. But, then, hard questions were never intended to be solved by soft brains. So long as we have nothing but *pulp* to work with, we shall never reach the height, at least, of *such* questions. We had better, therefore, content ourselves at once; and letting Emotion take the reins from Thought, adopt the sentiment of the philosophic poet,—

"Come then, expressive Silence, *muse* His praise."

A scientific and intensely reflective acquaintance of ours who

won't believe in the Bible, and can't see anything in nature *but* nature, is "bothered to death with hard questions." And well he may, for he has taken the "harder side." The foundations of the earth, even, are too much for him; much more He who laid them. "Hard questions" look out mockingly at him wheresoever his foot treads or his mind wanders; and a keenly-felt nescience is "a shadow that pursues him still." In a recent letter to us he sums up his difficulties, and concludes the whole matter with saying, "I lean to the teachings of Faust, who says,

> 'I have led
> Up, down, across, and to and fro,
> My pupils by the nose, and learnt
> That we in truth *can nothing know.*'"

Outside of their books, and of their "tall talk," this, we should say, nay, we are sure of, is the confession of *all* our infidel philosophers.

I cannot see *how* this stupendous scene is inhabited and wielded by one sole will, but I believe it *is*. I cannot stretch the conception of personality till it is commensurate with the dimensions of such a universe; but neither can I conceive of an existence anywhere, which is not directly upheld by the self-existent. When I comprehend an atom I will try to comprehend a God! When I know my "fearful and wonderful" self, I will try to know the infinitely more fearful and wonderful Maker of myself. Meanwhile I pray, "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief."

It was doubtless the hard questions,—the insoluble problems, connected with the idea of a personal Divine in Nature, which led Cudworth so to insist upon what he calls a "plastic nature," as the actual *worker* in creation. Now it is unquestionably either a personal Divine, or a plastic nature, there being no third thing possible that we can conceive of. But Bayle, we think, sufficiently disposes of Cudworth's hypothesis, in the following remarks; and so leaves us nothing to fall back upon but a personal Divine, *in* whom to live, and move, and have our being. "If God," says the profound thinker and able writer, "had been able to give to a plastic nature the faculty to produce the organization of animals and plants, *without having any idea of what it does*, might we not have concluded that the formation of whatsoever there is in the universe shewing marks of wisdom and design, and of whatsoever there is of force and motion leading to purpose and harmony, was not incompatible with the absence of intelligence; and that, therefore, the universe, after all, is the effect of a blind mechanical cause?"

JABEZ COLE.

ART. V.—BAPTISM AND THE PERDITION OF INFANTS.

IT is the doctrine of the Church of England that every child undergoing the ceremony of baptism is thereby regenerated. If any one doubt this let him turn to the baptismal service in the Prayer Book. When the child has been baptized and signed with the sign of the Cross the priest is ordered to say, "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church; let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits." Proceeding to give thanks, the priest has then to say, "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption." This language is decisive. In keeping with it is a significant notification at the close of the service to this effect, "It is certain, by God's Word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." The natural inference from this curious notification is, that children dying unbaptized, even before the commission of actual sin, are lost. But this had been already asserted in the exhortation to the people at the commencement of the service, when our Lord's words to Nicodemus are applied to baptism, "None can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regenerate, and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost." Over a child ascertained to be already baptized, the priest is directed to utter these strong words, "I certify you that in this case all is well done concerning the baptizing of this child, who, being born in original sin and in the wrath of God, is now by the laws of Regeneration in Baptism, received into the number of the children of God, and heirs of everlasting life." In the catechism appointed to be learned by the candidates for Confirmation, we have these questions and answers: "What is your name? N. or M. Who gave you this name? My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." If language have any meaning, the regeneration ascribed to baptism is no trifle. It is that which makes all the difference between a child of wrath and a child of God; it is the hinge on which heaven and hell turn. No one has any right to be a clergyman of the Church of England unless he believes that baptism regenerates every child to whom it is administered, and that it is essential to salvation. The position of Broad Churchmen and of Low Churchmen is more than doubtful to those who look at it from a neutral point of view.

The sanctification of the water, prior to baptism, is a genuine piece of spiritual magic. The Holy Ghost is mixed with the fluid

before it is applied, or some consecration effected by which the water is fitted for the work it has to do, and is rendered unfit for common use. The Rev. J. H. Blunt, in his Annotated Book of Common Prayer, says "A large stone font actually filled with pure water, and having a drain by which the blessed water may be let off after the baptism, is plainly contemplated by the Rubric, and is directly enjoined by the eighty-first canon." Keble says—

> "What sparkles in that lucid flood?
> 'Tis water by gross mortals eyed;
> But seen by faith, 'tis blood,—
> Out of a dear Friend's side."

Another foolish device is to get godfathers and godmothers to promise on behalf of the child that it shall renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil, the said godfathers and godmothers being often themselves in close alliance with these three parties, and, however pious they may themselves be, are unable in any case to guarantee the holiness of another person—especially that of a child whose future conduct is so uncertain.

The doctrine of baptismal regeneration is an ancient superstition. It is held by the so-called Catholic Church in all its branches—Roman, Greek, and Anglican—and apparently by some sections of Protestantism. The Presbyterians hold it with this modification, that regeneration is not tied to the rite, and does not take place under it invariably, but only in the case of those, whether infants or adults, who are elect, and whose regeneration at that particular moment has been fore-ordained of God. The following is the language of the Westminster Confession: "Although it be a great sin to contemn or neglect this ordinance, yet grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all that are baptized are undoubtedly regenerated. The efficacy of baptism is not tied to that moment of time wherein it is administered; yet, notwithstanding, by the right use of this ordinance the grace promised is not only offered but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost to such—whether of age or infants—as that grace belongeth unto according to the counsel of God's own will in his appointed time." This teaching is in some respects an aggravation of Popery, for it adds favouritism to ceremonialism, and makes the divine Being responsible for the success or failure of his own ordinance. By all means let us have equality in respect to religious ordinances; let us have a God who is no respecter of persons, and if John Smith's children are allowed to be regenerated under baptism, let the same privilege be accorded to the infants of William Robinson who lives on the other side of the street.

The fearful consequences deducible from the doctrine of bap-

tismal regeneration—especially the damnation of infants—do not, until recent times, appear to have created any wide or serious misgivings. Youth is cruel, delights to spill blood, to cut off heads, and put animals to death. The youth of the world was characterised by the same cruelty, and until lately, it was no particular difficulty in the way of a dogma that it involved the endlesss suffering or sacrifice of infants. Augustine was able roundly to assert that "children unbaptized will be in damnation with the devil," and he infers from Matt. xxv. 46, "that they will go away into everlasting burning." This harsh statement has been softened by the general opinion of the Church; but that opinion has still left unbaptized infants excluded from heaven, and everlasting sufferers of some kind and degree of penalty. It is stated among the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, "If any one says that baptism is free, that is, not necessary to salvation, let him be anathema." A prevalent notion has divided hell into four circles according to the degree of guilt. The first circle is hell proper, where the fire is hot and everlasting. The second circle is purgatory, where the flames are fierce but temporary. The third circle is limbo, in which are confined unbaptized children and the virtuous heathen; it is so far removed from the central fires that it is cool. There is only sorrow and no flame, or as some think, neither sorrow nor joy—only an existence which is a dull blank—but unhappily this state is everlasting. There is no chance to rise as there is in purgatory. The fourth circle is the limbo of the patriarchs, which was opened by Christ when he arose from the dead, unlocked the door, and set the prisoners free.

Ritualism—which glories in what is old, however ugly; its followers apparently preferring to be damned under an old creed than saved under a new one—finds no insuperable difficulty in swallowing this dogma as to the damnation of the souls of unbaptized children. Dr. Pusey, in his tract on "Baptism," says, "Regeneration is the gift of God, bestowed by him in this life *in baptism only*." He says again, "But a commencement of life in Christ after baptism, or death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness at any other period than of that one introduction into God's covenant is as little consonant with the general representation of Holy Scripture as a commencement of physical life, long after our natural birth, is with the order of His Providence." These statements leave no room for the salvation of the unbaptized, whether young or old. That is a possibility not included in Dr. Pusey's creed, and should it ever happen, must come about by some strange interposition in another world of which in this world we have not the slightest prophecy or hint. In a catechism on the Church Catechism, by the Rev. F. A. Gace, M.A., vicar of Great Barling, we read as follows: "In what light must we view those

who have never been baptized? *A.* As the heathen, whether they be old or young, notwithstanding they may be in the habit of attending divine worship. When do we receive forgiveness of sins? *A.* When we are baptized. What are the sins hereby forgiven? *A.* Original and actual." We have here a scheme of redemption laid down, and it knows nothing of regeneration or forgiveness apart from baptism.

In the *Penny Post*, for 1863—a High Church periodical—there is a short article, page 197, on the "The Danger of Neglecting Baptism," in which we find the following: "The unconscious babe knows not what its cruel parents are taking from it, and without which it cannot enter the kingdom of heaven; for without baptism it is not a Christian. How can its parents expect it to prosper in this world, or receive the crown of glory in the next? How vain and foolish is the common saying 'As long as it is registered what does it signify? It is all the same.' Oh! careless ones; will it be the same on that last and awful day when heaven and earth shall pass away? Are you prepared to see your child far off from those who, when infants, have been signed with the Cross of Christ on their foreheads, standing alone—to see him whom you may have professed to love more than any treasure unrecognised as the lamb he died to save, and from your own carelessness now deprived of its glorious crown?"

The fathers, both of the Greek and Latin Churches, held almost without an exception the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and regarded the omission of baptism as a very serious matter. They were great men in their way and in their day, but modern thought has left them far behind. They also held in common with nearly all the world that the earth was flat, and that the sun went round the earth once in every twenty-four hours, and they were not without the support of passages of Scripture which seemed to imply the same thing. Lactantius laughs at the notion of there being such things as Antipodes; he is quite merry at the idea of men whose heels are higher than their heads. The Church was not content with laughing at the notion of the earth's rotundity. Galileo was brought before the Inquisition and compelled to abjure the belief that the earth moved round the sun as a heresy opposed to Scripture. But he could not help saying aside, It does move for all that. Neither the witticism, nor the terrors of the Church, nor the artillery of her eloquence—which was something amazing—could change the ordinances of heaven, or make the civilized world continue to believe a demonstrated falsehood. Her success is likely to be no greater in the attempt to maintain the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, which indeed is the more serious and mischievous lie of the two. The Reformation broke up for ever the disastrous unanimity of professing Christians on this subject.

Each decade has swelled the number of the dissentients. Amongst those dissentients have been many of the most earnest and holy of the followers of Christ, if we may judge from their spirit and their lives. The world has been travelling now for a long time further and further away from the dark mediævalism and the barbarous antiquity of which this dogma is the corner-stone, and it does not appear that the world has suffered by the increasing distance.

At one period many persons delayed baptism till their last illness, from a superstitious notion that baptism alone washed away all the sins of the past life. Like one taking a bath on Saturday evening, they wished to go perfectly clean to bed when the week of life was over. The Emperor Constantine and his son Constantius were both baptised on their death-beds. Such persons were called clinics, and some churches, in order to restrain the practice, decided that no clinic should be a presbyter. But, alike by this delay and by zealous haste to get the ceremony performed, the Church has given evidence of her belief that baptism was the means of saving the soul.

There are words and phrases in our language which bear imprinted upon them a whole history of religious opinion. We have in the names of the days of the week records of the time when our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were worshippers of the sun and moon, of Woden and Thor, and other false divinities. The phrase 'Christian name' points back to that protracted period when it was universally believed that at baptism a child was made a Christian. The greater simplicity or rudeness of old times was content with a single name,—it was the name by which the priest addressed the child in the formula of baptism; and as it was supposed that he became at that moment a Christian, this name was called his Christian name. Even now, when the name of the family as a surname is universal, the designation of the individual is the only one we employ in baptism. We still speak of Wednesday and Thursday, although the worshippers of Woden and Thor have been for many ages extinct, and in like manner we still use the phrase 'Christian name,' although the majority of English-speaking people have no more faith in the old heresy of baptismal regeneration which gave rise to it, than they have in the old Norse gods that our benighted forefathers served.

Some high church men speak apologetically on this subject. They say that they have no heaven without baptism in their bible; it is no part of their sailing orders: at the same time they cannot tell what may turn up in another world. When the barber who used to shave Charles II. made a remark to the effect how easy it would be for him to cut a king's throat, His Majesty protested that the very thought was treason, and never came near him any

more. Those who hesitate and apologize, and will not say point blank that all the unbaptized go to hell; that it is not for us to limit the mercies of God, but that it is a serious risk to run, have by their very fear disgraced themselves. The party who pronounce the damnation of infants possible are about as bad as the party who proclaim it actual. Those who open the door of the pit for the little ones are in league with the savages who fling them in unceremoniously for lack of a ceremony. Great God! if they should tumble in themselves, how quickly they would change their opinions!

Churchism and Calvinism are equally cruel: they are twin hags. One commits infants to hell if they are not baptised, and the other if they are not elect. The theory of unconditional election and reprobation is equally unjust, whether the examples of it be men or children. If God has from all eternity appointed a certain number to be saved and a certain number to be lost; if he regenerates those whom he has elected for His sovereign will and pleasure, and passes by the rest; there is an end of justice, to say nothing of mercy, under His administration. The damnation of a certain proportion of infants and idiots is the natural corollary of this stern proposition; and, indeed, for the cruelty of the thing, it matters little whether a human being be seventy years old or seven months when sent to hell, if he be doomed to it by divine decree, apart from anything it was foreseen he would do; and accordingly the old Calvinists, including Calvin himself, found no difficulty in damnation on the score of age. So lately as fifty years ago, as the late Dr. William Anderson, of Glasgow, has told us, it was the general thing for Calvinists to believe that some infants were not elect, and that if they died they perished eternally; and I have been informed that the opinion is not quite extinct in Scotland at the present day. The Westminster Confession, put together at a time when by Calvinists the perdition of hosts of infants and idiots was received as a matter of course, teaches that perdition by implication, as it also teaches the damnation of all adult heathen. Modern Calvinism has happily softened in most quarters to the extent of supposing that all who die in infancy are by that token elect. This concession is a matter of rejoicing, as far as it goes; and it is only to be regretted that Presbyterian ministers still go on subscribing to the old barbarous standard. Burns, in his "Tam o' Shanter," enumerates among the horrors collected at the witches' dance, over which Old Nick presided,—

"Twa span lang, wee unchristen'd bairns!"

It was no caricature, but the representation of notions that were widely prevalent in his day. It exhibited High Churchism and High Calvinism in their naked hideousness. The God of the Westminster Confession, like that of the Prayer-book, is a grim

idol,—a bloody Moloch,—with red-hot metal arms to receive infants, amid the beating of church drums to drown the cries of the sufferers.

The celibacy of the clergy casts a side-light on the dogma in question. Men looking on a child of their own—on its winning ways and fascinating helplessness—would be apt to ask themselves, "Could I imagine that darling by any possibility shut out of heaven—much more shut up in hell?" and their hearts with a thump of indignation would answer, No! Celibates with the deeps of fatherhood unsounded in their hearts; cloistered monks, filthy, many of them, as the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, if Chaucer's poems and Froude's historical researches may be trusted, could contemplate with less shrinking the endless gloom of babes not their own, or even the frizzling of the heretic brats on a red-hot gridiron of hell.

The doctrine of baptismal regeneration must be summoned before the bar of the human conscience. If it be condemned there it has no chance of life. If it be contradicted by the common sense of justice in the human breast, wise men will draw the conclusion that it has no warrant in the word of God. "The Church," as she is technically called, may insist on its necessity as passionately as she pleases, she will only write her own death-warrant.

No heaven without baptism is the law of the Church. In the case of adults two exceptions are allowed by catholic divines. The Christian martyr dying unbaptised is held to be baptised by his own blood. The candidate for baptism, sincerely desiring it, but cut off without opportunity, may have the will taken for the deed. These exceptions show that our divines, when the humour takes them, can dispense with baptism and get a few special cases in favour with them into the kingdom. But in favour of innocent children dying in infancy, ecclesiastics have no exception to make. These must be damned at any rate, whoever else be saved. The infernal jail closes upon them because something was not done which they could neither help nor hinder. Infants that are in heaven deserve no praise, for the ceremony of their regeneration was performed without their knowledge or consent; and infants that are in hell deserve no blame, for their age rendered it impossible for them to know or to prevent the omission that left them in the clutches of the fiend. The brand that was on the brow of Cain is not deep enough for a system that thus suspends heaven or hell upon a ceremony. It coolly ascribes to the Divine Being a course of conduct so atrocious, that if it were a man no gallows would be thought high enough for his hanging.

The punishment of unbaptised infants is undeserved and therefore iniquitous. The eternity of the punishment crowns and consummates the iniquity. Purgatory is hot; but it is not endless:

out of Limbo there is no escape. One might suffer a temporary inconvenience, induced by another's fault, with ultimate advantage. But when the suffering is eternal, there is no room for mercy or for the exercise of that wisdom which brings good out of evil. There is only a blind unmitigated ferocity. To shut up in an everlasting prison those who never abused their liberty is an exercise of prerogative that proclaims a stupid and a bloodthirsty divinity.

In the damnation of a heathen child there is a double wrong. The parent was as ignorant of Christianity as the babe. How could he believe in One of whom he had never heard? How could he accept a religion which was never offered him, or obey an injunction of whose existence he was not aware? In this case not only is the child guiltless, but all the friends by whom he is surrounded are the same. But the innocent victim of an innocent neglect, the child of parents who knew no more of Christianity than the wild beasts of their native forests, is damned by a system which in the light of the 19th century dares to offer itself anew for the acceptance of England. Go back, thou foul heresy, to the pestilential shades from which thou camest! Our hospitals, our charities, our humanities of such varied kind, our advancing science and education, tell that it is too late in the day for thee to be above ground!

Motley, in his "Rise of the Dutch Republic," relates how the Pagan Radbod of Friesland (A.D. 692) had already immersed one of his royal legs in the baptismal font, when a thought struck him. "Where are my dead forefathers at present?" he inquired, turning suddenly upon Bishop Wolfran. "In hell with all other unbelievers," was the honestly orthodox, but highly imprudent answer. "Mighty well," replied Radbod, lifting his leg out of the blessed water, "then will I rather feast with my ancestors in the halls of Woden than dwell with your little starveling band of Christians in heaven!" Entreaties and threats were of no avail. The heart and conscience of the Friesian chief rose up in rebellion against a distorted Christianity: he declined positively a *rite* which was to cause an eternal separation between him and his buried kindred, and he died as he had lived, a heathen.

The Prayer Book specifies the first or second Sunday after birth as the desirable limit in the delay of baptism, but unless there be sickness, demanding a private baptism, or some other holyday intervene, one or the other of these two Sabbaths is recommended as the fitting occasion for the ceremony. Strange! that a Church which holds the necessity of baptism to salvation can sanction the delay of baptism for the matter of a week or a fortnight! What is this, but to leave the child suspended all that time over the mouth of the bottomless pit?—suspended by the thread we call life, which may snap without warning. What are we to think of

the wisdom, what opinion are we to form of the benevolence of the Church that thus deliberately and by statute allows the infernal wolf a chain's length of seven or fourteen days, during which it is possible he may have the opportunity of devouring the innocents? Why does she not appoint an army of red-cross midwives to pour holy water upon the child the moment it is born, lest the devil should gobble it up before it reaches the font? Why does she not constitute the mother whose yearnings would be an effectual guarantee for prompt attention—an extraordinary priestess!—and commission her to see to it, and insist upon it, that her babe be immediately baptised? That it undergo the spiritual birth as soon as the natural birth is assured? Is it possible that the men who prate so much about the necessity of baptism have a feeling at the bottom of their hearts without acknowledging it to themselves that it really makes no difference, but that the whole thing is moonshine? Is it nature peeping in their rubrics? Or are they mere greenhorns, thus to allow the enemy of souls such an advantage?

Not many yards from where I live, as I have been told, a poor woman was hastening down the road one night with a sick baby in her arms which she wanted the priest to baptise. She and Death were racing together for the child's soul. Death and the devil won. One who accosted her, and learned her errand, looked at the child and saw that it was already dead. No doubt many a dead child has been baptised in the hope that down in the depths life might yet linger, and the spirit catch the baptismal grace before its fatal exit.

But who imagines that life begins at birth, or that the child is destitute of an immortal soul, until the moment when it quits the womb? But if it be perfect as a human being long before birth, what is to become of it should the womb prove its grave, as so often happens? What power, in this emergency, is to save it? The Romish Church has girded itself for the undertaking. With that minuteness of detail for which her system and her casuistry are famous she has provided, that in cases of danger, midwives may baptize a child before it comes entirely out of its mother's womb. As some part of the body of the child must appear before it can be baptized, it is ordered to be baptized on the part which first appears. If it be the head it is not necessary to re-baptize the child should it live; but if only a foot or hand appears, and this insignificant member have alone received the sacred drops, it is deemed necessary, should the child survive its perilous birth, to repeat the ceremony. A still-born child, thus baptized, even though only by a foot, may be buried in consecrated ground.* Its soul is safe; but woe to the infant

* See *Ency. Brit.* Art. Baptism.

that reached the light of day at once dead and unbaptized.

"In one very remarkable way the reforms of Christianity were powerfully sustained by a doctrine which is perhaps the most revolting in the whole theology of the fathers. To the Pagans, even when condemning abortion and infanticide, these crimes appeared comparatively trivial, because the victims seemed very insignificant and their sufferings very slight. But to the theologian this infant life possessed a fearful significance. The moment, they taught, the fœtus in the womb acquired animation it became an immortal being, destined, even if it died unborn, to be raised again on the last day, responsible for the sin of Adam, and doomed, if it perished without baptism, to be excluded for ever from heaven, and to be cast, as the Greeks taught, into a painless and joyless limbo; or, as the Latins taught, into the abyss of hell. In the Lives of the Saints there is a curious legend of a man who, being desirous of ascertaining the condition of a child before birth, slew a pregnant woman, committing thereby a double murder, that of the mother and of the child in her womb. Stung by remorse, the murderer fled to the desert and passed the remainder of his life in penance and prayer. At last, after many years, the voice of God told him that he had been forgiven the murder of the woman. But yet his end was a clouded one. He never could obtain an assurance that he had been forgiven the death of the child." *

According to the Church of England a man has no life as a Christian until he is baptized; and that church is so far consistent with herself that she refuses the Lord's Supper to the unbaptized, since that would be to put bread into the mouth and pour wine down the throat of a dead man. And she is so far consistent again, that when an unbaptized man dies she distinctly orders the priest to exclude him from the list of hopeful cases. Unborn at birth—unfed in life—and damned at death, is her summing up of the career of that human being who, whether from accident, neglect, or conviction, was never baptized with water.

The doctrine of baptismal regeneration imparts a fearful significance to the burial service in the Book of Common Prayer. This service commits the body to the dust "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body!" The hope is "sure and certain;" there is not a cloud of doubt upon the prospect; and the prospect is magnificent. It is not *a* resurrection, but *the* resurrection; it is not a resurrection to existence, but to life; and not merely to life, but to eternal life; and 'eternal life' is the technical phrase in scripture for salvation—for the life of God in the soul on earth

* *Lecky's Morals.* I. 25.

and its continuation in a state of glory after death. It is used forty-four times in scripture, and this is invariably its signification. When used in connection with the resurrection it is put in opposition to the rising of the wicked to an estate of shame, as thus in Daniel: "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake: some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." And thus, in one of our Lord's discourses: "All that are in the graves shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation." It is to the resurrection of life, then, as opposed to the resurrection of damnation, that the Episcopalian clergyman undertakes to commit to the dust all and sundry of his parishioners—whores and rogues, hard-hearted misers and pleasure-loving drunkards, and even murderers, if only it is not themselves they have murdered. Self-murder he must not excuse, though surely a man has more power over his own life than over the life of another. But the Anglican priest will not look over the crime; and there are two other classes for whom he has no word of hope—one is the excommunicated—persons that have been cut off from the Church; though he might remember that Jesus Christ himself was a man excommunicated; and the other class is the unbaptized. If baptism has been omitted, the Rubric orders the clergyman also to omit the burial service. Whether adults or children, if they die without baptism—such is the theory—there is for them no part in the resurrection of life; and so they must not participate in the expressions of confident hope pronounced over baptized infidels, baptized thieves and prostitutes, baptized monsters of iniquity. The flesh of the dear babe on whose face, for some cause or other, the baptismal fluid never was rained, rots ready for the resurrection of damnation. Let it be buried with the burial of a dog; nay, a burial more ignominious, on account of this invidious distinction, for no dog is disgraced by the absence of a priest who is found present at the obsequies of his deceased brother. The dogma of baptismal regeneration, taken in connection with the doctrine of purgatory (although the latter is disavowed in the Articles) clears up the mystery so far as it is possible for a bad reason for a base thing to clear up any mystery. All those who have been baptized were thereby regenerated, and if they remain in the church—if they do not become excommunicated (and our English Church never excommunicates any body)—though they may live and die in sin, they are sure of heaven. Even if they have to reach it by a fiery, roundabout way, they will reach it eventually. If by no other way, by the furnace of purgatory they will pass into Paradise, and on the morning of the resurrection, the process of their purification having been accomplished, their

souls will be ready to put on the beautiful garment of a body fashioned like unto Christ's most glorious body. We can understand that many a grave will cause the Ritualist to feel enamoured of the doctrine of purgatory, the Articles notwithstanding, especially if he be enamoured of that other Popish doctrine, called mental reservation. But if the clergyman does not believe in purgatory, he is a man to be marvelled at, for he sends the worst sinners, and those who died in the act of sin—drunkards who died drunk, and the thief who fell from the window he was burglariously entering and was killed on the leads below—he sends all direct to heaven without the circumlocution of a middle state with its cleansing fire bath. But for unbaptized babes, and Quakers, and unfortunate Baptists whose dipping was too long deferred—perhaps through trembling solicitude lest they should profess more than they felt—there is no word of hope. There is not even a purgatory for them; there is only a fearful looking-for of judgment. There is a resurrection, it is true, but one that is worse than no resurrection. For one day they may come out of hell, but only to fetch back their bodies into it, that so their whole being, physical as well as spiritual, may be damned. This is the real meaning of the burial service, put together three hundred years ago, as a compromise between Popery and Protestantism. Baxter protested in burning words against the service in the Conference of the Nonconformist Ministers with the Bishops; although Dr. Massingham forsooth would have us believe that the objectionable passages were put in to please Richard Baxter! An Episcopalian funeral may sometimes be regarded as a tragedy, where the living priest immolates his conscience or his heart at the tomb of his dead parishioner. If he be a Broad Churchman, or an Evangelical, and does not believe the service, so much the worse for his truth and honour. If he be a High Churchman and does believe the service, so much the worse for his justice and mercy—so much the worse for his common sense.

But hold! Why do we speak thus of men who are many of them intelligent and upright, honourable in all the relations of life, and beautiful for Christian graces? Their education has blinded them. The men are better than their creed. "Father, forgive them: they know not what they do." Thy professed people crucified Thy Son whom Thou didst send into the world. Thy professed ministers, and many who are indeed Thy real servants humbly wishing to do Thy will, lend their lives and their support to a system which represents Thee, the superlatively merciful, as doing worse than crucifying—as eternally damning—lovely infants and holy men who happen not to have been baptized with water. Do Thou open their blind eyes. Do Thou break their fetters. I know Thou wilt receive the little ones to Thyself,

baptized or not, for "of such is the kingdom." I know Thou wilt not visit damnation on the innocent, but, instead of them, Thou wilt bury and damn this accursed doctrine of baptismal regeneration, which has blasphemed both Thee and them, and kept humanity in terror. HENRY KENDALL.

ART. VI.—TENDENCIES OF THE AGE IN RELATION TO RELIGION AND MORALS.

WE can understand the feelings of the thoughtful Christian man, who on his return from a month's vacation-tour, turns to the pile of papers and periodicals which have accumulated on his table during his absence. While on his rambles he refrained from fully acquainting himself with the strifes and activities of the world, the low murmur of whose movements alone reached him. But now, with a curiosity whetted by long abstinence, he bends his attention on the heap of sheets before him, which day by day have chronicled the doings of nations and men. A feeling perhaps compounded of perplexity and sadness is his, when his task is ended and the last news-sheet scanned. How complex, multiform, and apparently discordant seem the movements of society! He reads of the deliberations of parliaments, social science and scientific congresses; of the doings of the International, of ultramontane councils, and old-catholic congresses; of autumnal manœuvres; meeting of emperors at Berlin; grand musters and reviews of troops. What does it all mean? What will be the end of it all? he almost piteously asks himself. Where is the clue to be found that will lead to the unravelling of the tangled skein of human affairs? Are these and a thousand other events indicative of one or of many tendencies? Is the set of the current of human thought towards religion, or is its drift entirely the other way? Such are the questions we at this time propose to ourselves.

But what is meant by religion? Religion etymologically, and properly too, denotes the practical recognition of the bonds that bind a man to God and to his fellows. And the religions of all time and of all peoples, differ as they may do in many points, yet agree in this, that they have grown out of the attempt to answer the questions—What is man? Whence does he come? Whither is he going?

But when we speak of religion, we mean the Christian religion: not considered abstractedly, as a system of doctrines, or as constituting the science of theology, but as having to do with the intellect, conscience, heart, and life of individual man. Thus regarded,

Christianity rests for its first foundation on certain historical facts, ascertainably and demonstrably true, as much as any other facts of past time. It also implies on the part of the individual hearty faith in the doctrines involved in those facts; which faith, working by love, will show itself in piety towards God, and towards man in the highest morality mixed with benevolence.

In order that this spiritual life might be begun and maintained in the hearts and lives of the individuals constituting that generation of men, and in those who should afterwards fill their places in the world, the Christian church was established and had four offices assigned it:—1st. To preserve the sacred scriptures; 2nd. To bear witness to them; 3rd. To judiciously dispense the truths contained in them; 4th. To be the means of conveying grace to men.* But that it might fit itself for the right and full discharge of these offices, the church had to make provision for its own preservation as a religious organization. Long and bitter controversies have been carried on by the partisans of rival sects as to the constitution of the early church. The admirers of each particular form of church government, whether that of Rome, or Oxford, or Geneva, have reckoned to find their pattern in the church of apostolic times. But the results of these disputations have been so discordant and unsatisfactory, as to enforce the conclusion that the apostles declined the office of legislation, and purposely left the question of ecclesiastical polity vague and indefinite, so that the church might afterwards be varied according to the genius of nations and the changes in times and circumstances.† But while a good deal was left to man in the founding of churches, something was not left to him. Altogether apart from the necessity of each church possessing faith, piety, morality, benevolence,—without which indeed there could not be a true church at all,—all societies of Christians hereafter to exist, were in the purpose of Christ and of his apostles, to be formed in harmony with four great principles, which distinguished Christianity both from Judaism and Paganism. These four principles were—spirituality, equality, universality and unity. 1st. In the intention of Christ the church was for ever to be strictly separated in its objects, functions, and connections, from those of every worldly society. Christ's kingdom was not to be of this world. 2nd. As growing out of its spirituality there was to be perfect equality among Christians and churches; "one faith, one Lord, one baptism,"—one participation in every spiritual privilege for all nations, churches, and Christians. 3rd. The church was to aim at universality; not to be confined within any geographical, ethnological, or political limits. "Make disciples of all nations," was the command. 4th. The church was to

* Hind's History of the Christian Church.
† Gibbon's Decline and Fall, c. xv.

be one. There were a great number of churches in apostolic times slightly differing from each other in polity it may be, and having a somewhat different doctrinal complexion (as for instance, the church of Jerusalem, compared with the churches of Paul's foundation); yet the churches are still spoken of as one, and in the eye of God there was unity in diversity.

These then are the four essential "notes" of the church. And now in accordance with the positions laid down, we have to inquire whether the church (using that term as designative of the congeries of religious sects) is in all its propaganda faithfully honouring these four conditions, and whether the auguries of the time warrant us in concluding that the church will in time to come be more than ever after the mind of Christ, so far as these principles are concerned. Such is the important inquiry we put to ourselves, and which we now attempt to answer with considerable diffidence, knowing that at best our conclusions may be only approximately correct.

First. *Spirituality.* In relation to the first "note," the signs of the times seem both good and bad. On one side the church is gradually disengaging itself from worldly entanglements, while on the other it is becoming materialized. Believing that the Christian religion was designed to be spiritual in its connections, no less than in its aims, we cannot but regard that as an evil day for the church when, after having been persecuted, then tolerated, it was established by Constantine. It was indicative of a retrograde movement when Christ's ministers became functionaries of the state, and when clad in sacerdotal vestments they thronged the palace of the emperor and blended the ecclesiastic with the courtier. It was an inauspicious day when, for the first time, the secular arm was invoked to punish errors of practice, as in the case of the Donatists, and to put down heresy, as in the case of the Arians. Then began a very long and dark chapter in the religious history of the world. But now the tendency of the age is gradually to undo the work which Constantine began. The downfall of the temporal power of the pope is the earnest of the complete separation of the civil from the ecclesiastical power. Of the different theories of church and state which have been advocated or exemplified, one alone seems destined to obtain in the indefinite future. The relations which it is possible for the church to sustain to the state are four, and we have had them all exemplified, more or less completely, in the history of the last three centuries. In pre-Reformation times the church was supreme over the state, or a power co-ordinate with it; and many were the struggles between king and priest for lasting ascendancy. The official theory all over Europe then was, that the priesthood were the living oracles of God upon all theological and moral subjects, and that laymen in positions of public trust should govern themselves accordingly.

After the reformation the church of England practically became a department of the state, which it now is. But instead of recognising one church merely, and persecuting or tolerating every dissident communion, the state may recognise all Christian denominations, subsidizing them and granting them equal protection. Lastly, the civil power may keep to its own legitimate province, and while framing its laws in harmony with moral principles, may regard all churches as being equal before the law; giving needful protection to all, but interfering with the internal affairs of none. Now, of these four theories of church and state, which is to be the theory of the future? The first has long since been played out in England. The second has broken down in Ireland. The theory of concurrent endowment would, we suspect, meet with but scant favour in this country; and we shall not be surprised if some continental governments do not strive to free themselves from their embarrasments, by ceasing to subsidize the sects. It does not need a prophet's foresight to see that the disestablishment of the English church is but a question of time. Even churchmen instinctively feel this. Some time since a clergyman said publicly, that to separate church and state was "a growing tendency—a formative idea—a law which must and will govern future legislation." This spokesman would not have been censured for not discerning the signs of the times. We anticipate that at no very remote date the parliament of England will in effect say, "Religion belongs to the sphere of the conscience; with it therefore we will not intermeddle. We will have free trade in religion. All the denominations shall for us have a fair field and no favour; and they and we will go on our several divinely-appointed ways."

This same principle of spirituality is also manifesting itself in another direction, viz., in the dying out of persecution, and in the gradual removal of the disabilities under which certain religionists have laboured. The conventicle and five-mile Acts belong to a past never more to be revived. The test and Corporation Acts have been repealed. The grievances of dissenters have been redressed. Roman Catholics now sit in the highest deliberative assembly in the land, and wear the judicial ermine with honour to themselves and advantage to the Commonwealth; and, as in the case of Judge Keogh, adjudicate impartially in a critical trial in which their co-religionists are deeply and disgracefully involved. Jews and representatives of other dissenting communions carry off the highest honours that can be won at our world-famed universities. Some small, but still galling, disabilities have yet to be removed. Why, for instance, should a dissenting minister not be able to unite together in matrimomy members of his own church without a functionary of the State being present to see that he does not bungle over his business and then carry away the lion's share

of the fees? Why should he be debarred from burying his own people in the country churchyards of the kingdom? and why should State Church ascendancy extend so far as to create the invidious distinction between consecrated and unconsecrated ground in our cemeteries. But we bide our time, certain of the issue which legitimate agitation and repeated efforts in Parliament will bring. The tendency of the present age is to wrench off every link of the already broken chain of proscription and intolerance which entered the souls of our forefathers. The Church of Rome herself—though she does not formally renounce her arrogant pretensions, and though she still clings tenaciously to that theory which has made so many pass by a "scorched and blackened path" to the skies—the theory that heresy is a mortal sin of such demerit as to deserve punishment in this world and eternal damnation in the next,—even she is not altogether impervious to the spirit of the age. Within the last few weeks has been held the tercentenary of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, when the tide of intolerance under the name of religion reached its high-water mark. *Apropos* of this massacre, a controversy has just been carried on in the public prints, as to the degree of Pope Gregory's complicity in that crime, and the bearing of his action on the dogma of infallibility. It has oozed out from this controversy that the papacy is at heart ashamed of that foul deed, and has secretely endeavoured to make away with the evidence that the butchery received the sanction and excited the elation of the Pope. Veuillot indeed—the fanatical editor of the Ultramontane *Univers*—has boldly defended the massacre, but he stands alone in unenviable singularity; for some of the most distinguished laics of Catholicism in this and other lands have forcibly expressed their abhorrence of the deed, while at the same time endeavouring to put as favourable a construction on the Pope's conduct as is compatible with a decent regard for the facts of history. Again, it might have been thought that the one place in the world into which charity and toleration dare not enter would have been the Council Chamber of the Vatican. There, surely, such sentiments would be as much out of place as sunshine in a gloomy crypt or subterranean vault. Then how the echoes of the Council Chamber must have been startled, and how old decrepit Intolerance must have trembled with rage when Cardinal Schwartzenberg and Monsignor Strossmeyer in bold tones denounced, as both profane and impudent, the canons of the scheme *de fide* which anathematise Protestants, and which threaten them with eternal damnation!

One Act which has just been put forth by the administrative head of the German empire, on which public attention has been rivetted, seems out of keeping with the spirit of the age, which is averse to the use of violence, either for or against religion. The

expulsion of the Jesuits from the territory of a Protestant nation seems to smack of the days when persecution and proscription were in vogue. It is not the first time the Jesuits have been shown the door. Saying nothing of the suppression of the order in 1773, they have been turned out of European States at different times, so that by this they have grown pretty well accustomed to such treatment. But still we confess that at the first blush Prince Bismarck's procedure seems a high-handed and arbitrary one, and even on second thoughts we find it impossible to join in the jubilation which some are raising over it. Some distinguished Protestants—members of the Evangelical Alliance—in an address which they lately presented to the Chancellor, spoke of him as "maintaining the principles of true liberty." Though we yield to none in our dislike of Jesuits and Jesuitry, we still think our countrymen regard Prince Bismarck's policy in a wrong light. It is to be regretted that he has felt himself obliged to take the course he has, for it will certainly encircle the entire Order with the martyr's aureola, and rally the sympathy of a large body of Catholics round them; and the only justification of the act is that it is a sharp political move to checkmate political plotting, and is rendered necessary in order to keep the hard-won fruits of policy and war. If, as the Chancellor gives it out, the Jesuits by their intrigues aim at the subversion of the empire, it is not so much liberty he is fighting for, as national life. The Act is shifted from the ground of religion to that of politics, and finds its true and only vindication in being an exceptionally severe Act, growing out of an exceptional peril, like the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, or the wholesale blowing of mutineers from guns in India.

But while religion may be approximating more closely to its founder's idea in shaking itself loose from worldly connections, and in getting for itself all needful immunities—in renouncing, too, the use of all means, save moral ones, for its own safeguard and spread, yet, on the other hand, we are afraid it is widely diverging from Christ's ideal of the true spiritual Church in the rapid growth of sacerdotalism. We do not profess to be alarmists or pessimists, but neither do we wish to dip our pen in rose-water and write "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." We cannot blink the fact that while most (may we not say all) of the evangelical bodies, including the corresponding part of the Establishment, remain stationary, or make an advance so slight as to be almost inappreciable, what is called the High Church section of the Establishment is not only becoming predominant within its own pale, but is making aggressions on the world without. That this conclusion to which we have come by an observation of the ecclesiastical movements going on in the limited area open to our inspection is true, is fully borne out by the testimony of

unimpeachable witnesses. The *Pall Mall Gazette* is not the organ of dissent or of the Low Church party; it is independently liberal in politics and broad in its religious views and sentiments. Yet the writer of a leader in this presumably unbiassed organ says:—"The clergy as a body have adopted High Church principles; that is to say, those principles which involve the denial of Protestantism, and the placing of all Christians who do not receive the communion at the hands of episcopally ordained ministers without the covenant of salvation. . . . . Now this, we affirm without a doubt, is the prevailing creed of our clergy at this moment, whether of an actual majority or not, certainly of the active, demonstrative guiding portion. It is not ritualism to which they are attached. That is a mere excrescence—a temporary fancy of a fastidious generation. Thirty years ago the fashionable outward signs of High Church were amateur fasting and amateur celibacy. But fasting was disagreeable, and so went out of vogue. The taste for celibacy did not survive the marriage of its poet Keble. Ritualism has now succeeded, and may last a little longer, because it occasions no call for self-denial, but it is ephemeral only. High Church doctrine, as held by the great majority of its earnest supporters, is a very different matter, and far more deeply rooted." Still more decisive are the words of Bishop Ewing, of Argyle, who has lately contributed an article to the *Contemporary Review* on the present tendencies of Anglo-Catholicism. In the course of his paper he says:—"The Church of England was and is one of the chief of the Reformed Churches, and used to be called the bulwark of the Reformation. Her Reformation aspect was that, and is that, we still hope, which may be called the religion of England. But a great change has come over it. Within the last forty years she has been going back on the path of the Reformation, retracing her steps until many of her clergy have all but reached the point from whence she then started. This increase of zeal and restoration of churches is not on the path of progress, but of retrogression, and we fear will go far to deprive us of the religion of the past. . . If from Laud until now there have been four or five generations, we have seen in our day an advance to Rome as great as that accomplished in the time from Laud to us."

The Church of England, then, is being rapidly Romanized, having for its cherished beliefs the dogma of Apostolic Succession, and the sacerdotal authority of the priesthood. Laymen of the Church of England have need here to ask themselves, or their spiritual directors, one or two important questions. They are taught to believe—"out of the church, no salvation;" that is to say, their eternal safety depends on their receiving the sacred elements at the hands of an episcopally-ordained priesthood, the

legitimate successors of the apostles. Everything turns, then, on the validity of the orders of the Church of England. But supposing there is such a thing as apostolic succession, is it beyond a doubt that the priests who minister at the altar are in the true succession? High churchmen deny that their church ever broke with Rome; but the papacy disowns them, and deems their orders invalid. If Matthew Parker, in the time of Elizabeth, was not properly consecrated, of which there is some reason to doubt, then at once the chain of innumerable links supposed to connect the last-ordained priest with Christ and his apostles, is snapped. The flow of divine grace is stopped, and the thousands of confiding churchmen who thought they received the true body of Christ in the sacrament were deceived, having prostrated themselves in adoration before a piece of bread only, and are hopelessly lost. Yea, if it were demonstrably certain that Parker's *consecration* was regular, but that he was not *baptized* with "due matter, form, and intention,"* the same deplorable consequences would follow. The salvation of multitudes is thus made to depend on a number of "contingent and uncertain supposals."

The mind of a true protestant feels a natural repugnance to such popish figments, and is impatient while exposing their absurdity and impiety. But let the conclusion to which these remarks tend be specified. If this be Anglo-Catholicism, and if Anglo-Catholicism be spreading, then one of the signs of the times is ominous; for one important section of the church with a noble past, is running directly counter to the first principle which had to govern the action of the Christian church. The Saviour designed his church to teach men that all barriers between God and themselves were broken down by him; and that it was their privilege to "worship the Father in spirit and in truth," and to regard themselves as consecrated priests to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God; but Anglo-Catholicism robs a man of his indefeasible rights, and separates man from God by a long material chain composed of human links, and makes his salvation contingent on mortals who are as liable to sin and error as he. The Apostle Paul taught that it is by the faith of the Son of God that the spiritual life is to be begun and perpetuated; but Anglo-Catholicism teaches that there can be no spiritual life unless the literal body of Christ is partaken of.

II. *Equality.*—So much having been said on the principle of spirituality, this second "note" of the church may be dismissed by a few words. Spirituality and equality are the two sides of one and the same principle. In so far as the first is honoured, will the second find scope. Equality is sacrificed when spirituality is offended against. Should the time come when no church shall

* Chillingworth.

enjoy the invidious though unenviable distinction of being allied with the world-power, then all churches will be equal before men, as now they are in the sight of God.

In the early church, after episcopacy had be nintroduced, bishops were still regarded as only the first among their equals, and they were elected from the presbytery by the suffrages of the people.* In Roman Catholicism and kindred systems of sacerdotalism the principle of equality is violated. It has fallen to the lot of this age to witness the apotheosis of inequality. When the Pope was declared infallible, then, to quote words as remarkable for their profanity as for their folly:—"God was on the earth in the likeness of an old man at the Vatican." If the papal pontiff be as God, then to the faithful the various orders of their hierarchy will be as the lesser gods of the Roman Olympus. The dogma of sacerdotalism creates caste in the church of Christ. The priesthood are clothed with factitious official dignity, invested with mystic power, and walk about among their lower-caste religionists,—a sort of spiritual Brahmins.

III. *Universality.* To the Christian church was assigned the duty of universally diffusing the religion of Jesus. "The obligation of preaching to the Gentiles the faith of Moses had never been inculcated as a precept of the law, nor were the Jews inclined to impose it on themselves as a voluntary duty."† The Pagans were not zealous propagandists of their systems. Christianity stood alone in this, that it overleaped physical barriers, rose superior to national and local prejudices, and aimed at universal conquest. This principle of universality was never so long obscured nor so flagrantly violated as that of spirituality. Even in times of internal corruption and external trial the church never totally lost sight of the truth that its field of activity was the world. When, just after the tenth persecution under Diocletian, toleration was proffered the Christians on condition they would refrain from making proselytes to their faith, they refused to comply with such a condition, on the ground that it was contrary to the very spirit of Christianity. In the present age the conviction that Christianity is meant for all, and must be offered to all, is a conviction far more powerful and animating than it has been in some ages bygone; for sometimes the church has lain as it were in a trance, with this conviction comparatively inoperative. This is pre-eminently the age of missions. The denominations are vying with each other in bringing the world to Christ.

With the foundation of Christianity the conception of the brotherhood of mankind took its rise. "Humanity is a word which you look for in vain in Plato or Aristotle: the idea of mankind as one family, as the children of one God, is an idea

* See Gibbon, c. xv. † Ibid.

of Christian growth." Inspired by the enthusiasm of love to the Saviour and to redeemed mankind, Christian philanthropy began its career, and in manifold ways sought to better the condition of humanity. "The high conception that has been formed of the sanctity of human life, the protection of infancy, the elevation and final emancipation of the slave classes, the creation of a vast and multifarious organization of charity, and the education of the imagination by the Christian type, constitute together a movement of philanthropy which has never been paralleled or approached in the Pagan world." * But presently the rise of a gloomy asceticism chilled the genial current of benevolence, and ecclesiastical cruelty doomed its thousands to death. It has remained to this age, which, as we have seen, is witnessing the decay of superstition and intolerance, to become pre-eminently the era of humanity, when the sentiment of universal brotherhood is one of the most potent forces of the time. This thoroughly Christian sentiment is manifesting itself internationally, politically, philanthropically. Internationally in the breaking down of national antipathies,—in the creation of international law,—in the settling of grave disputes by peaceful arbitration rather than by the arbitrament of the sword. Politically it is being manifested in the conviction embodying itself in legal enactments that a man, as a man, has certain inalienable rights appertaining to him. The same sentiment is expressing itself philanthropically in the setting on foot of all kinds of organisations having for their object the amelioration of man's circumstances, or physical and mental condition.

There is no mistaking the temper of the present age. Its humanity,—its eager sympathy with every form of suffering,—its impatience of exceptional privileges,—its tendencies to equality, fraternity, and the like, are evident to all. This temper, however, it is useful to bear in mind, is greatly assisted by the peculiarities of modern civilization. Lecky, in his *History of Morals* † tells us that while the primal elements of morality are ever the same, each stage of civilization has its special standard of moral excellence. Certain virtues are held in greater esteem than others, and without these being markedly exemplified, no one's character is deemed complete. In the infancy of states, when danger and war are their normal experiences, the softer and more amiable virtues are little valued. Such a period is the seed-plot of the heroic virtues. The courageous endurance of suffering, valour in war, self-reliance, patriotism, are traits of character the most admired and sought after. In the word *virtue*, "manly energy," we have the Roman conception of what constituted praiseworthiness fossilized. In the transitional period, when society has not by a high civilization as

* Max Muller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol I., p. 127.

† Lecky's *History of Morals*, vol. II., 107.

yet attained to solidarity, the ascetic virtues come into play. The most virtuous and holy man is he who most strikingly exemplifies in the austerities of his retirement the virtues of humility, poverty, obedience, and that suppression or restraint of the passions and appetites of the lower nature expressed by the word "chastity." But when a high state of civilization is reached, the conditions of life are changed. Discoveries in physical science pave the way for mechanical inventions, and these stimulate industrial activity. Men are agglomerated in towns and cities, and by means of easy and rapid locomotion society is interfused. Now, the favourite type of virtue is that which seems to best fit the altered state of things. The heroic virtues find little scope for exercise, and the ascetic virtues are at a discount; while the softer and more amiable virtues,—those indeed which bear the closest resemblance to the "charity" of Christianity, are called forth and prized. Living under a settled government, and keenly sensitive to ease, comfort, and luxury, and all the conditions supplied by wealth, men recoil from hardship and suffering, their characters become somewhat emasculated, and they naturally extend compassion, benevolence, and charity to others. Where industrial pursuits engage the bulk of the population, society would have no cohesion if veracity, thrift, speculative enterprise, and forethought, were not staple virtues: hence, in a highly civilized community such as ours, these virtues rank high. But not only does civilization, on its material side, serve to develop philanthropy and all the virtues useful to society, but its accompanying intellectual culture tends to the production of the same. The great hindrance to the exercise of sympathy and charity is the dulness of the imagination, and its consequent inability to realize another's position. But every advance in intellectual culture,—each widening of the horizon of knowledge,—stimulates the imagination, and therefore enables a man the better to realize another's sufferings, or to appreciate his peculiar views and feelings. In the former case compassion is evoked: in the latter, charity and tolerance. In the infancy of nations loyalty is a prominent virtue; the imagination operating through the affections, needs some concrete object to rest upon. Later on the mind may grasp the sentiment of patriotism, to which loyalty is now subordinate. The last stage of all is reached when a man extends his sympathies to some object or movement which is international.*

If these generalizations are sound, the following should be some of the characteristics of our age:—Utility will be the favourite criterion of morals; the heroic and ascetic virtues, generally speaking, neither remarkably abundant nor prominent; a philanthropy searching out abuses, and busying itself with

* Lecky's *History of Morals*, Vol. I.

the condition of the pauper and criminal classes as well as with that of the victims of disease, war, or misfortune, will be abroad; much liberalism of thought in relation to politics and religion may also be looked for; and, in some cases, these liberalistic sentiments may assume a cosmopolitanism of type. These we believe to be, in fact, some aspects of the present time, and the conclusion we would draw is that much of this humanitarianism is not essentially or avowedly Christian in its origin, though it may bear a superficial and even intrinsic resemblance to that which is distinctively Christian.

This, too, is the age of statistics, of associations, and of all forms of mechanized humanity. All the evils which plague the world have to be removed by social machinery. Men seem to have implicit faith in the almightiness of combination. Nor—in an age which has witnessed so many marvels of engineering skill, and which owes so much to machinery—is it to be wondered at that men are so prone to calculate given results from given forces, even when it is man and not iron or earth that has to be operated on. However, explain it as we may—societies, associations, leagues, clubs, boards, go on multiplying unceasingly. To some minds all this may appear a healthy sign and cause for satisfaction; but there are three considerations which may serve to qualify their complacency.

1. Even supposing the objects these organizations aim to compass are praiseworthy and feasable, is there not a danger that over-organization may check individuality? We have just seen that there is no surplusage of the heroic virtues now-a-days. "Already energetic characters on any large scale are becoming merely traditional. . . . . The greatness of England is now all collective: individually small, we only appear capable of anything great by our habit of combining; and with this our moral and religious philanthropists are perfectly contented. But it was men of another stamp than this that made England what it has been; and men of another stamp will be needed to prevent its decline."* What is wanted is the strengthening of the family bond—which we fear is somewhat relaxed—the deepening of the sense of personal duty—to increase the individual's power of initiative—to bring a man more decidedly under the dominion of private conscience, instead of allowing him to feel amenable to "public opinion" merely, however enlightened that opinion may be. Anything that discourages individuality of this type, however useful it may be in other respects, is far from being an unmixed good. Hence, we fear, our elaborate and costly social machinery may, after all, be a symptom and cause of weakness.

2. Many of the most ambitious schemes for the regeneration

* J. S. Mill. *Liberty*, p. 41.

of society seem to start from a false conception of human nature. They proceed on the assumption that there is nothing radically wrong in man, and that, as Rousseau taught, "He is by birth virtuous, a lover of order, and instinctively just." Many who go thus far with Rousseau, perhaps without knowing it, here part company with him and set about altering men's circumstances and outward conditions, believing these to have well nigh an omnipotent influence on character. Some extremists and levellers, like the *International*, go the whole length with him in holding that if you can only "deliver man from priests, governments, and family obligations, he will gravitate towards perfection."

3. Such movements, having a non-religious or irreligious basis, will either come to nought or work disaster. Their originators are physicians of no value, mere empirics. If a quack be a boastful pretender to medical skill which he does not possess, then prescribers for the ills of the body politic such as these, are quacks, and time will expose their charlatancy. Some time ago Mr. Scott Russell, deeply convinced that England was in a very bad way, determined to try his skill in the healing art. He spent six months in diagnosing the disease, and then prescribed a cure-all, compounded of seven ingredients. Workmen were to have suburban residences, with gardens, pure air and water. Markets were to be established, at which food could be bought in retail quantities, at wholesale prices. Behold a sample of the ingredients of that panacea, usually known as the "New Social Movement!" Well might Mr. Gladstone tell the working men of Greenwich, and through them his countrymen at large—who at the present time sadly stand in need of such a warning—that confectors of social elixirs, like Mr. Russell, "are deluded and beguiled by a spurious philanthropy, and when they ought to give you substantial, even if humble and modest boons, they are endeavouring, perhaps without their own consciousness, to delude you with fanaticism, and to offer you fruit which, when you attempt to taste it, will prove to be but ashes in your mouth. No; what we have to ask ourselves are questions which depend upon ourselves individually in the main to answer. . . . . It is the individual man, the individual conscience, it is the individual character on which mainly human happiness or human misery depends." In France, M. Le Play, a distinguished publicist and man of science, has been giving his country—that has suffered many things of many physicians—a similar much-needed piece of advice. He ascribes the ruin of France to Rousseau's doctrine, and he would have man's inherent vice confessed, and then honestly met by legislation and custom, based on the ten commandments. As France has been ruined by the disregard of God, the fountain of authority—of parents who in the order of nature are his delegates—

and of woman who is the chief cementing agency in society, it is only by the revival of this triple respect that she can be restored. These are words of wisdom. O that England and France would pay heed to her distinguished mentors! The best-concerted schemes for the perfectibility of man must miscarry if they ignore man's sinfulness and absolute dependence on divinely-vouchsafed help.

IV. *Unity.* The fourth essential "note" of the Church is unity. The yearning after unity is one of the most striking and powerful religious tendencies of the age, and one on which the devout mind dwells with the most complacency. Even in a past age Bishop Jeremy Taylor eloquently pleaded in his "Liberty of Prophesying" for the union of Christians, on the basis of their common acceptance of the Apostles' Creed. But his voice, though a powerful one, was drowned in the din of controversy and the clamour of ecclesiastical bickerings. Now, however, the desire for a *rapprochment* of the divided churches of Christendom has taken possession of the minds of many of its leading thinkers, and with some amounts almost to a passion. Foremost amongst these stands Dr. Döllinger, who asserts that as theology, since the Reformation, has been mainly polemical, so in the future its mission is to be peacemaking. The old Catholic congress, just held at Cologne, set before it as one of its main objects to bring about the union of the separated Christian churches. To carry out this object an influential Committee has been appointed to give effect to the desires of the congress on this matter, desires which shaped themselves in three resolutions, of which this is the third:—"To promote by means of popular writings and essays the knowledge of the doctrines, usages, and conditions of the separated churches and confessions; the proper appreciation of the existing points of unity and difference, and to awaken and to maintain in wider circles the understanding of, and interest in, this desirable approach." Aspirants and seekers after unity naturally fall into three classes, according to the particular theory of unification they hold. Some advocate a unity springing out of uniformity. They fondly dream that in the course of time the churches may be able to stand on a common basis of dogma—ritual—and constitution. This view, though advocated by Döllinger in his lectures on the re-union of Christendom, does not meet with general favour on account of its impracticability. At the old Catholic congress the weight of opinion was decidedly against it. The second theory finds many more advocates. The unity they desiderate is one that may co-exist with diversity, finding its basis in identity of morals, and in mutual charity. The third theory is a sort of honourable compromise between the other two, and only differs from the last in requiring the various Christian communions to symbolize their unity of

sentiment by some outward act of intercommunion. Thus the late Dean Alford suggested that Christians should meet together, and after the reading of the Scripture narrative of the institution of the sacrament, should, in silence, partake of the elements together; others advocate a free exchange of pulpits. This seems to be the scheme of union that finds most general acceptance, and which is destined, ere long, to lead to something practical. The first theory is chimerical, the second too sentimental; the third is practicable, and at the same time seems to be in deepest accord with the nature of man and the spirit of Christianity.

While speaking on the fascinating subject of Christian unity we cannot help observing that the sacerdotalists, who are feverishly anxious for greater unity, are doing their very best to render such a devoutly-to-be-wished consummation impossible, by their pernicious theory of priestly authority. It is strange, but none the less true, that the great body of British and American Protestant dissenters are totally ignored by them in all their schemes of unification. Dr. Döllinger knows us not. The old Catholic Congress itself, though Anglo-Catholic dignitaries and priests were amongst its members, leaves us out in the cold. We are supposed to have no church standing, and to have no true ministry. Whatever degree of unity may be attained, we are not to be included therein. The typical Anglo-Catholic prays for the re-union of Christendom —his heart goes out after the Greek Church—he even casts a loving, yearning glance at the Abyssinian Church, he is ready to clasp the hand of the half-civilised Oriental ecclesiastic as a friend and brother, but the devout, learned Nonconformist who ministers to large and influential churches of Christians in the same town as himself, is to him as an unbaptized infidel or a "heathen and a publican." Here is the third count in the indictment against Sacerdotalism. It offends against the principle of unity no less than against those of spirituality and equality.

Such are the tendencies of the age in relation to religion. The auguries of the time awaken hope, but leave room for fear. They call for vigilance and loyalty to truth. The watchman on Zion's walls who is asked, "What of the night?" has to say, "The night cometh." Yes, there are conflicts in store for the Church. But there cometh "also the day." The issue, though it may be long delayed, is certain. It is already anticipated by Christ. On his throne he is calmly "expecting" its approach. What shall be that issue? A great man, just before he laid down his pen for ever, said that "the whole human race appeared to him to be rushing together to some immense unity, the name and nature of which were, and till it was fully manifested must, remain unknown." * But faith divines, in part at least, what that unity shall be.

* De Maistre.

Whether the world shall ever be one vast confederation of states—one yet many—whether mankind shall ever be, as of old, of one speech and language, we know not—but we have confidence that it shall be one in true allegiance to Christ.

BICKERSTAFFE.

ART. VII.—THE PRIMACY OF PETER AND HIS RESIDENCE AT ROME.

SIX months ago we contributed a paper to the *Ambassador* on Peter's primacy and reported residence in Rome, a paper suggested by a discussion which took place in the city of the Cæsars during the second month of the present year. That contribution was principally confined to a consideration of the primacy of Peter, which by a broad inductive investigation was shown to be without foundation, and a promise was then given that the question of his residence at Rome should, at some future time, come under review. In the meanwhile the debate has been translated by the Rev. W. Arthur, and published by the Wesleyan Conference Office, so that any who are so disposed can now for themselves hear the disputants, and carefully weigh the arguments advanced. After the necessary preliminary arrangements, the debate was opened by the gentleman who had provoked it, a Neapolitan by birth, and formerly a member of the Franciscan brotherhood. He was followed by one of the most accomplished scholars and archæologists that Rome can boast, who by an apologetic address, admirably conceived, endeavoured to invalidate the arguments which had been advanced. His apologetics were sharply attacked by Ribetti, a minister of the Waldensian church, who then took up the debate; and the priest who followed, though obviously a man of keen and subtle intellect, was unable to turn aside the home-thrusts of the northern Italian. The third speaker, on the Protestant side, was a man of world-wide fame, whose voice has thrilled many an audience on both sides of the Atlantic, whose love of country stands next to his love of the Saviour, who has championed the cause of his native land in the presence of nations, and who with unfailing heart has stood by his countrymen as on battle-fields, amid varying fortune, they have nobly struggled for their birthright. Gavazzi followed the priest Cipolla, and entering into the argument with that intense enthusiasm characteristic of his nature, by the charm and power of his marvellous oratory he swept away the specious subtleties with which the question had been embarassed, and though succeeded by a master of dialectics, who, with a coolness and self-possession really admirable, and by a course of special pleading

truly marvellous in its adaptation to the circumstances, sought to destroy, not only the effect of Gavazzi's address, but the whole course of argument pursued by the Protestant representatives; yet the advantage was unquestionably with the men who denied the primacy, and rejected the reputed residence in Rome. And so evidently thought the Pope, when he prohibited any further discussion.

The Protestant representatives in this debate depended largely upon the historico-critical investigations of Ellendorf, a learned Professor in the University of Berlin, who has inquired searchingly into the grounds upon which it was maintained that Peter had resided in Rome, been bishop of the church there, and also suffered martyrdom in that city. Though Ellendorf was a Roman Catholic, and the results of his researches were altogether adverse to the claims of Rome, yet he has fearlessly published them, and we propose to comprehend the substance of them in this paper. The conclusion of the previous article was, that the primatical claims of the Romish bishop as the successor of Peter were destitute of Scriptural foundation, and unsanctioned by the ecclesiastical usages of the earliest centuries of the Christian era; and the investigations of Ellendorf show quite as conclusively that Peter never visited Rome, and of course cannot have been the recognized bishop of that city.

It is impossible to reduce to anything like consistency the various traditionary statements concerning Peter's apostolic labours and Roman episcopate. There is considerable diversity of statement concerning the year in which he arrived at Rome, as well as the continuity and length of his residence. Homologised by Romish authority—which by the way experiences no difficulty in bringing order out of the wildest chaos, and harmonising the most dissimilar accounts—tradition removes Peter from Jerusalem to Antioch, in Syria, about A.D. 37, and retains his services as bishop there for nearly seven years. Then he is conveniently removed to Rome, where Simon Magus was creating no small stir. But Simon Magus was no match for Simon Peter, and after vanquishing his great opponent, Peter founded a church, and became its ecclesiastical head. Here he remained till the Emperor Claudius decreed the banishment of the Jews from Rome. Thrust out by imperial despotism, Peter returned to Palestine, and happened by consequence to be present at the council held in Jerusalem on the circumcision controversy. After the council, he went to Antioch. In the meanwhile Claudius died, and Peter, taking advantage of this event, returned to his bishopric, travelling by way of Asia Minor, Sicily, and Southern Italy, and founding numerous churches during his journey. Located again in the City of the Cæsars, he began an extensive series of evangelistic labours.

North, and west, and south he travelled, founding churches, and appointing bishops. At last he was put to death, along with Paul, and buried at Rome. But before he died he appointed his successor, to whom he commited the primacy, which has been duly transmitted to the Romish bishops. Unfortunately for this historic-like account there is more or less of disagreement concerning every circumstance mentioned in it, and a number of cognate events throw an ugly shadow of suspicion on the whole.

The New Testament is silent concerning any visit of Peter to Rome, or residence in that city; and not only is it silent, but by the events it narrates, and the chronology it contains, the visit and residence are placed beyond the limits of possibility. This argument is fully developed by Ellendorf, and was persistently applied in the recent discussion; and no subtlety or ingenuity on the part of the Romish ecclesiastics and canonists could evade its force. What reply was it to say, that the facts of Peter's primacy and episcopate were so well and generally known that neither reference nor mention was needed in the early years of the church, since the universal knowledge of his supremacy and Romish episcopate which pervaded Christendom rendered any specific statement unnecessary? Here the points at issue were quietly assumed. Peter was primate and bishop of Rome, and that was well and generally known by all the churches. But then the primacy and episcopate were the very points under discussion, and could not be accepted as indisputable; they must be proved. And yet, by taking for granted the main questions of dispute, learned Romish ecclesiastics endeavoured to destroy the arguments of their opponents. And what better argument was it to say that the Romish church, with its perfect organization and great power, required for the explanation of its existence the primacy and episcopate of Peter? Causes similar to those which have produced the elaborated tradition concerning Peter's primacy and episcopate have developed the wondrous ecclesiasticism which holds so many millions in its embrace. They are not related as cause and effect, but are equally the resultants of similar causes.

It is the policy of the Romish Church to depreciate chronological enquiries in reference to the residence of Peter in Rome, and this for a very good reason. If chronological considerations and data can be thrust into the background, then there is a better chance for tradition to flourish and gain acceptance. There is nothing more likely to overthrow ecclesiastical tradition than an enquiry conducted with a careful regard to the time-relations of all the events and incidents of which we have historic warranty in the New Testament and subsequent writings. Recognising the importance of chronology, Ellendorf endeavoured to gain a fixed point from which to start in testing the tradition upon which the

Romish Church bases its claims to have been founded by Peter, and to be the special repository of his delegated authority. This he finds in the conversion of St. Paul. The date of this occurrence is determined in the following manner. At the time of Stephen's martyrdom Saul of Tarsus was with the persecutors of the Christian community. Baronius and others place this first martyrdom within the year succeeding Pentecost, but a very slight acquaintance with the earlier chapters of the Acts of the Apostles shows this to be impossible. The Church realised considerable growth, many miracles were wrought, and much labour was performed before the collision with established authority resulted in the death of Stephen. The internal arrangement of the Church advanced a stage by the formation of the diaconate. Obviously the contents of these chapters make some demand upon time, and cannot be crowded into a few weeks or months. It is also well known that immediately after the first martyrdom a violent persecution of the Christians began in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood. Now it is not likely that any such general persecution could have taken place during the reign of Tiberius, who, while not very friendly towards the Jews, as the historians testify, afforded protection to the Christians, and wrathfully threatened some who projected extreme proceedings.* A solitary case like Stephen's, preceded by the semblance of a trial, might have taken place while Tiberius was Emperor, but from the feeling he displayed towards the Christians no general persecution was possible. So that the death of Stephen, followed as it was by a general crusade against the believers in Palestine, must have taken place about the close of the reign of Tiberius. This Emperor died in 37, and in that year or the one preceding it is probable the martyrdom of Stephen took place. At the time of the deacon's death Paul was a young man, very likely just entering upon public life, and beginning to take an active interest in political and ecclesiastical affairs. His zeal in sustaining the measures of the Jewish hierarchy gained for him the confidence of the rulers, and he took position as a prominent actor in the first persecution; but while at the height of his power and hostility, he became a convert to the Christian faith. The date of this occurrence may be fixed in the year 39, or about two or three years after Stephen's death. The same result may be reached in another way. Herod Agrippa died A.D. 45 (Josephus, Book xix. Ch. viii.). Just before his death he had put James to the sword, and was only prevented by miraculous interposition from consigning Peter to the same fate. Now at the time of Peter's imprisonment and deliverance, Paul and Barnabas were in Jerusalem. It was a time of scarcity, and the Antiochean brethren had determined to send relief to the disciples in Judæa.

* Vide Apology. Vol. I. Tertullian's Works. Vol. XI. Clarke's Ante-Nicene Library.

This they did through the agency of Paul and Barnabas, and they were fulfilling this mission in Jerusalem at the time when Herod, to vex the Church, slew James and imprisoned Peter, events immediately preceding his own sad end. This visit took place A.D. 45. Previous to it Paul had spent a year at Antioch with Barnabas. (Acts xi. 26.) And before that he had sojourned a while in Tarsus, after being compelled to leave Jerusalem as narrated in Acts ix. 30. This visit to Jerusalem, as he himself says (Galatians i. 18) took place three years after his conversion. If these dates and occurrences be carefully compared, the year 39 or thereabouts will be given as the time when Saul of Tarsus was arrested in his approach to Damascus, and transformed from a fierce persecutor into a zealous believer. Three years subsequent to his conversion passed away before his first visit to Jerusalem—then his retirement to Tarsus, where Barnabas found him—then a year's residence in Antioch, and then his second visit to Jerusalem, as almoner of the gifts of the Antiochean brethren, where we find him in the year 45, the year of Herod's death. Four years are here directly accounted for, and at least two would be consumed in journeying and in the retirement to Tarsus, thus fixing the conversion about the year 39.

Here, then, we have a fixed starting point from which we can chronologically test the Romish tradition. In the year 42, three years after Paul's conversion, Peter was still in Jerusalem. About the time of Saul's departure to Tarsus, Peter began a journey extending over a considerable portion of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee. He then went down to Cæsarea, where he preached to Cornelius and his household, and, on returning to Jerusalem, had to justify this latter proceeding (Acts ix. and x.) In the year 45, when Herod vexed the Church, we find him in Jerusalem. So that up to that year he had not visited Rome. After his miraculous deliverance from prison Peter, it is said, departed, and went into another place. Now had he gone to Rome would it not have been stated? The probability is it would. Peter, who was pre-eminently the Apostle of the circumcision, went into some other part of Palestine, or if beyond it, entered upon a missionary journey east, for here, in Syria, Mesopotamia, Parthia, and adjacent countries, dwelt the "dispersion" whose conversion Peter specially sought. The Jews were not very numerous in the west, and it is probable the Claudian edict was then in force. At any rate Peter is again found in Jerusalem at the Council (Acts 15). The date of this Council may be definitely determined by reference to Galatians ii. 1. It was held fourteen years after Paul's conversion, or about the year 53, and up to this date, the evidence is decidedly against Peter visiting Rome at all, much less residing there as the Episcopal head of the church. After the Jerusalem Council, Paul and

Barnabas returned to Antioch, and in the course of a little time Peter followed them. The presence of Peter in the Syrian city mentioned in Galatians ii. 11, is plainly referable to this period. Only after the Council, as is evident from the context, could the circumstances narrated have happened; so that in the year 54 Peter was in Antioch, and had not then visited Rome. Up to this date the chronology of the Acts falsifies the claims of Rome, and shows conclusively that Peter neither visited the city nor resided as bishop there.

We have no further mention of Peter in the Acts of the Apostles; but still we are not destitute of data, nor left entirely to conjecture concerning his connection with Rome. In 58, four years after the Antiochean dispute, Paul, who had not been able to visit Rome, wrote his epistle to the converts in that city. It is scarcely credible that, if Peter had been in Rome for some years as bishop of the church there, that Paul, in his letter, should not mention him in any way, directly or indirectly. And yet there is not the remotest allusion to Peter, or to those who are known to have been his intimate fellow-labourers. This silence is inexplicable if the Romish tradition be well founded. It is no sufficient reason for this silence to say that Paul might be aware that Peter was absent on one of his missionary journeys. This absence did not render reference to Peter unnecessary when mention was made of the faith of the Roman converts and the labourers who had been the means of their conversion. It is simply impossible that such a letter should have been written while Peter was Bishop of Rome and no mention have been made of him; and it is simply incredible that such a letter should have been written and no reference made to Peter if he had through labour sustained that relation to the church in Rome claimed for him by tradition. We have, therefore reason to conclude that in 58 Peter was not in Rome, neither had he, up to that date, visited the city. About the year 60 Paul was conveyed a prisoner to Rome, and resided there for two years or more. Luke relates, with considerable fulness of detail, the arrival of Paul in that city. The brethren came as far as Appii Forum and the Three Taverns to meet him, but there is no mention of Peter. Three days after his arrival, Paul called the chief of the Jews together, stated his case, and justified his previous life. They replied that they had received no information respecting him, and as for the sect to which he belonged it was everywhere spoken against; and a day was appointed when they were to hear him more fully. Now, the principal Jews of the city could not have been so ignorant of the merits of the Christian faith had Peter been resident among them for years. And certainly, had this been the centre of his sphere of labour for eighteen years, the church in the imperial city had

occupied a widely different position than that which it did occupy when Paul arrived on his appeal. Taking into consideration all the circumstances connected with Paul's arrival in Rome, they show conclusively that Peter was not there then, and that up to that time he certainly had not been resident there. For more than two years Paul continued in Rome, and from that city he wrote at least three of his letters to the churches, and one letter to a personal friend. The three letters were addressed to the churches at Philippi, Collosse, and Ephesus; the other letter was sent to Philemon. In these letters there is abundant reference to his circumstances and experiences in Rome, and mention is cheerfully and plentifully made of his fellow-labourers; but there is no intimation of Peter's presence, nor any reference to his connection with the church in Rome; so that it follows, as conclusively as anything can follow, that up to the year 63 Peter was a stranger to Rome. After his liberation, in 63, Paul visited the churches of Greece and Asia, and spent a winter in Nicopolis, and probably performed other journeys in prosecuting the work of his life. His second arrival in Rome took place about 65 or 66, and within a few months after he sealed the truth with his blood. During this last residence he wrote the two last letters to Timothy. When the first of these letters was written Paul was free, but his circumstances were widely different when he wrote the second. He was then a prisoner, and the end of his course was drawing nigh, and he entreats Timothy to come to him soon. On his first appearing before his judges all men forsook him, and no man stood by him. At the time he wrote the only person with him was Luke. There is no mention made of Peter, and yet certainly, if that apostle had been in Rome and a fellow-prisoner, manfully awaiting death as tradition affirms, there would, in such a communication as this to Timothy, have been some mention made of him. It is not possible that Paul should have passed over his fellow-apostle in silence had he been present in Rome, and had they been awaiting death together. The only rational conclusion, in the face of this chronology, is that, at the time of Paul's martyrdom, Peter was not in Rome; and that, up to the time of that occurrence, he had never visited that city.

This conclusion is supported by a reference to Peter's own epistles. We have two letters bearing the name of this apostle, and they are evidently addressed to Jews of the dispersion. The first of these letters was written at Babylon. And not even a remote allusion betrays any connection that Peter had with the Western churches. It is certainly singular that, while to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, Peter wrote for their instruction and encouragement, he should completely ignore the Roman Christians, among

whom, according to tradition, he lived and laboured so long. Is it not more reasonable to conclude that the opening verses of the first letter indicate the sphere in which Peter had laboured after he left Antioch in 54? Concerning the attempt to make Rome the Babylon from which he wrote, the less said the better. It could only have been made by persons reduced to desperate straits and resolved at all cost to maintain their theory.

The principal objection taken to this course of argument is that it is wholly negative, founded upon silence, and therefore of no positive value. The principle of argument is simply this—that if an alleged fact of great importance is never directly or indirectly mentioned by any of the contemporaneous authors who historically or otherwise deal with the circumstances amid which, and the period during which, it took place, its occurrence cannot be allowed, especially if the said authors were so circumstanced, in relation to the alleged fact, that they not only could, but must have mentioned it. Let it be remembered also that this silence respecting Peter's residence in Rome is associated with numerous references to his whereabouts during the period he is said to have occupied the See of Rome. And when the negative argument finds its complement in this positive evidence, it becomes simply incontrovertible. The tradition upon which the Romish Church founds its numerous claims is destitute of scriptural foundation. In fact, the New Testament writings are against it, and there are few things more certain than the falsity of the tradition which connects the Romish see with the person of the Apostle Peter.

Having no Scriptural foundation, Romish tradition depends altogether upon post-apostolic testimony; but it will be obvious that this testimony is of little weight unless furnished by the earlier Fathers of the Church. If it cannot be satisfactorily shown that those among the first post-apostolic authors who were most likely to be acquainted with the fact of Peter's residence in Rome, make mention of it, or at least some reference to it, then subsequent testimony is of little value. It is well known that in the early history of the Church a number of writings appeared concerning Christ, the Virgin, and the apostles. These writings purported to furnish accounts of transactions, and to comprehend periods in the lives of the respective persons to which reference had not been made in the commonly received Scriptures. The contents show them to have been pure inventions, for it would be difficult to equal them in absurdity and folly, and these are the sources whence the materials were obtained for constructing the tradition commonly received by the Romish Church respecting Peter's episcopate. Allusions and references to Peter contained in these Apocryphal writings were quoted, and perhaps amplified by subsequent authors;

churches manifested an anxiety to derive their origin from the chief apostles, and thus gain a degree of supremacy, and in this struggle among the principal Christian communities the tradition in favour of Rome gradually grew into shape, aided by the eminent position of the city, as metropolis of the world. The earlier and more reliable Fathers appear to have known nothing of Peter's primacy and Romish episcopate, and the significance of their ignorance cannot be set aside by the statements of later writers.

Clement of Rome, who, according to some authorities was appointed bishop by Peter, makes no reference to him as having either been in Rome or exercised episcopal functions there. He mentions his martyrdom in connection with that of Paul when speaking of their labours and sufferings, but while intimating that Paul suffered at Rome under Nero, no such intimation is made respecting Peter, and yet there seems to have been as much reason to mention that Peter suffered at Rome as to state that Paul did. * It appears strange and unaccountable that this Father, an immediate successor of Peter, according to tradition, should make no reference to him except that just quoted. Equally singular, if the tradition be accepted, is the silence of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, with which city also Peter is traditionally connected for seven years before he went to Rome. There is certainly a passage quoted from Ignatius's epistle to the Romans, but it is difficult to perceive what connection it has with the question in dispute. He desires the Romans not to interfere to save him from martyrdom. But he says—"I do not, as Peter and Paul, issue commandments unto you. They were apostles, but I am the very least (of believers). They were free, as the servants of God, while I am, even until now, a servant." * He here simply states that he is not an apostle, and cannot command, as could Peter and Paul, and it will require no small ingenuity to twist a declaration like this into evidence favouring the primacy and episcopate of Peter. Paul, at any rate, is here placed as his equal. There is also some doubt as to the genuineness of this epistle, and further doubt, if the epistle be genuine, as to whether the name Peter was contained in the original writing or not. Justin Martyn, one of the earliest apologists of the Christian faith, and who wrote during the first half of the second century, makes no reference to Peter's residence in Rome, or to any labour of his there, and yet nothing would have been more natural in his character as apologist, since he specially addresses himself to the Emperor, Senate, and people of Rome, and three several times refers to the position and influence of that

* Apostolic Letters. Vol. I. Clarke's Ante-Nicene Library, p. 11.

Simon whom this tradition avers Peter completely and for ever vanquished. It is certainly remarkable that while referring to Simon Magus and his doings, there should not be a word said about Peter, by whom Simon had been overcome, and this in a work specially written to vindicate the Christian faith and justify those who had accepted it. There can be only one reason for this silence under the circumstances, and that is that Peter's residence in the imperial city is a fiction.

The author among the early fathers upon whom the greatest reliance is placed, in vindication of the Romish tradition, is Papias, who was bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, in the first half of the second century, and who, it is affirmed, suffered martyrdom about the year 163, but concerning his death, and the place where it took place, nothing certain is known. He was on terms of intimacy with many who had known the apostles, and, it is stated, was personally acquainted with the apostle John. From persons thus known to him he gathered various traditions, which he comprehended in a work divided into five parts. Nothing is known of this work, except through the writings of others. Eusebius, Irenæus, and other writers, make reference to his production, and in the extracts preserved by Eusebius the earliest evidence is found by which Romish canonists support their claims. Eusebius gives a contradictory account of Papias, writing of him in one place as a man learned in all things, and well acquainted with the Scriptures; and in another place, describing him as a man of small capacity. Judging from the fragments of his work, which have been preserved, the latter is the more correct estimate.* The famous passage in the history of Eusebius is of such a character that it is not included among the Papian fragments. Indeed, there is no passage quoted from Papias. The historian reports the tradition of Peter's journey to Rome, and then proceeds to say that the Romans desired Mark to point out the discourses of the apostle that they might not forget them; this Mark proceeded to do in the Gospel bearing his name; and in support of these statements Eusebius refers to Clement and Papias as his authorities. It is just an appeal to Papias, but how far justified we cannot say, as the passage has not been preserved. This famous passage is Eusebian, not Papian. It is every way likely that it was drawn from some earlier documents, but they are lost, and the passage as given in the history cannot be tested. And, even had the fragment been preserved, if it had corresponded in character with the fragments we have, it would have possessed little value as evidence.

The Clementine "Recognitiones," and the work attributed to

* Apostolic Fathers, Vol. I., Clarke's Anti-Nicene Library, pp. 441-448.

the Syrian Hegesippus, cannot be accepted as evidence upon a question like this. The "Recognitiones" are ascribed to Clement of Alexandria, by Eusebius, but their character utterly forbids their Clementine authorship. They constitute a philosophico-theological romance. The statements presented are not offered as facts, but the disciples of Christ, and some of their principal adherents, are introduced as the chief characters in the book, and through them the writer develops his own beliefs in the form of a fictitious narrative. The work on the destruction of Jerusalem, bearing the name of Hegessippus, is obviously of Apochraphal origin, and was probably compiled about the fourth century. The passages from the writings of Hegessippus, admitted to be genuine, which are contained in the history of Eusebius, make no reference to Peter's residence in Rome. Dionysius, of Corinth, according to Eusebius, makes a remarkable statement. In writing to the Romans, he reminds them that they have united in themselves the seed of the apostles, sown by Peter and Paul, who, according to his account, laboured together in the city of Corinth, left that city in company for Rome, and after labouring together in the work of instruction, there died at the same time the deaths of martyrs. These are the reported words of a man who lived in the second half of the second century, and whose residence was well situated within the acknowleged field of apostolic labour. All in respect to this report depends upon the fact of Paul and Peter meeting together in Corinth. If this is not true, they could not have gone from that city in company to Italy, and the whole story breaks down. According to the Acts of the Apostles, Paul was several times at Corinth, but at each visit when he left that city he travelled east, not west, and there is no mention made of Peter being in his company. In Act xviii. 18, he is said to have departed from Corinth by way of Penchrea, for Asia. From Acts xx. we learn that Paul went from Macedonia to Greece, where, after remaining for a short time, he left again for the east, and proceeded on his way to Jerusalem. When Paul first went to Italy, he went as a prisoner, and he went by sea, certainly not by Corinth, and there is no reference to Peter's presence with him. So that, prior to Paul's first imprisonment, Peter and he did not journey to Italy together. Is there any likelihood they did so afterwards? One hundred years before Dionysius lived Clement of Rome wrote his epistle to the Church of Corinth. And, on the supposition that the meeting of Paul and Peter at Corinth was after the first imprisonment—if the former, or about the year 64 or 65—this epistle was written within twenty years of either of these dates. And yet Clement makes no reference to any sojourn of Peter among the Corinthians. This is the more remarkable, as the

purpose of his epistle would certainly have led him to have mentioned Peter had that apostle ever visited Corinth. In this epistle Clement remonstrates with the Corinthians respecting their dissensions, and entreats them to leave them off; for it seems that as when Paul wrote, so in Clement's time this church was disturbed by strife. He appeals to them upon every likely ground and authority to be peaceable and orderly. He refers them to the scriptures, to the example of the saints, to Paul's exhortations, and the epistles which he had written to them. And is it likely that in such an appeal as this he would have omitted Peter if that apostle had had any direct connection with the Corinthian Church? And the unlikeliness is increased when we remember that Clement is said to have been a pupil and friend of Peter; and if not his immediate successor in the see of Rome, yet his successor in a very few years. This story is not reported by any one except Dionysius, and it plainly deserves little credit. But even if it were received, Peter could not have visited Rome earlier than 65 or 66, and his residence would then be limited to a year or thereabouts, and all the stories about him being founder of the Roman Church, and its bishop for twenty-five years, crumble to pieces. Tertullian refers to Peter as bishop of Rome, mentions the fact of his baptizing his converts in the Tiber, and suffering martyrdom along with Paul under Nero. But this Father drew his information principally from apocryphal stories and tales, and some things he mentions are not referred to by any Father previous to his time. For instance, he affirms that John was cast into a cauldron of boiling oil in Rome by order of Nero, and that, coming out unhurt, he was consigned to an island exile. Now, it is known that John never was at Rome, and consequently could not have experienced the treatment reported. No previous writer mentions any such circumstance except the pseudo Prochorus, in his life of John; and it is rarely mentioned by any subsequent author. And yet this story is given along with the account of Peter's martyrdom in Rome, and as equally veracious. It is obvious that the Romish claims can gain little support from the African presbyter, living as he did in the early part of the century, and using so freely as he plainly has done the fabulous inventions of the Apocryphists. Irenaeus mentions Peter and Paul as the founders of the church in Rome*, but in doing this he simply repeats the tradition which was then taking form—a tradition directly contradicted by the Acts of the Apostles, as well as by the Pauline and Peterine epistles. But

* *Vide Clarke's Ante-Nicene Library* Vol. XVIII. p. 357; vol. XI. p 235; vol. XV. p. 43; which contain the Works of Tertullian.

* *Clarke's Ante-Nicene Library.* Vol. V. p. 261.

even accepting the testimony of this Father his statement is as much in favour of Paul as Peter, and why has the Romish Church quietly suppressed Paul and invested Peter with supreme and exclusive authority?

As time rolled on the story of Peter's residence in Rome gained in fulness, as first one apocryphal addition and then another was made to it. But the old tradition is involved in hopeless contradictions. There is no agreement as to the time at which Peter went to Rome, or as to the circumstances and companionship of his journey. There is equal difference of statement respecting the length of his residence in the imperial city; and even his position in relation to the church is variously given,—some forms of the tradition introducing him as supreme head of the Christian community in Rome, other forms of it making him co-ordinate with Paul. The only point upon which there is anything like agreement among the traditionists is that Peter was in Rome. It is urged that this agreement shows that there must be a foundation of fact underlying these manifold and diverse stories; and that if nothing else be admitted, it must at least be admitted that Peter visited Rome; for without this foundation of fact these stories could not have been originated and obtained credence. Well, stories have been created and obtained currency which were destitute of all historical foundation; and perhaps no better instances of this can be furnished than some important portions of this Peterine tradition. The account of Peter's dispute with Simon Magus in Rome is given with considerable minuteness and fulness of detail in the Clementine Recognitions; but the account is historically untrue. Equally destitute of historical foundation are the reports of the various missionary journeys into the north, south, and west, undertaken by Peter during his residence in Rome. Valid historical data are also wanting to sustain the account of Peter's martyrdom along with Paul. And when we find important parts of the tradition destitute of all historical probability, there is reason to conclude that the whole is pure invention. And this conclusion is strengthened when we remember that the earliest post-apostolic writers make no mention of any visit of Peter to Rome, or any residence in that city; and that the contents and chronology of the New Testament are altogether opposed to this traditional statement. We think it difficult for a stronger case to be made out against any story than the one made out against the reported residence of Peter in Rome. The contents and chronology of the New Testament show that Peter was not in Rome in 42;—that he had not been there in 45, the year when he was imprisoned by Herod;—that he had not been there in 53, the year in which the Jerusalem council was held; that he had not yet visited the

imperial city in 58, about which time Paul wrote his letter to the Romans;—that he had not been there when Paul arrived a prisoner in 60;—nor was he there at any time up to 63, when Paul was liberated;—that he had not been there in 66, when Paul was imprisoned a second time and suffered martyrdom. The Church in Rome, according to the New Testament, was not founded by Peter, but by Paul and his fellow labourers. The Scripture testimony is decidedly adverse to the pretensions and claims of the papacy. Refuge is taken in tradition,—and here there are certainly testimonies to be found; but the oldest and most important of the Fathers,—the most important because the nearest apostolic times, and the least influenced by the inventions of fabulists,—are altogether silent concerning this residence and bishopric at Rome, upon which such large pretensions are based. And not only are these early Fathers silent, but their writings are utterly inconsistent with the truth of this tradition. Clement of Rome, by the circumstances under which he wrote to the Corinthian church, and the subjects on which he wrote, must have referred to Peter's episcopate at Rome, and his primacy over the whole church, had he been acquainted with them as unquestionable facts. And Justin, by the very nature of his Apology, must have introduced these matters had they been known to him as historically true. These early writings give evidence against the papacy fatal to its claims. The writings in which testimony is found in favour of the tradition are in hopeless contradiction to each other, and themselves furnish the best refutation of the story.

This question must be decided upon purely historical and chronological grounds. It is not affirmed by the authority of Scripture, and we demur to any other authority, either Council or Pope, propounding an infallible decision. It lies as wholly within the domain of historical and chronological investigation as the military operations of Julius Cæsar, or the invasion of the New World by the Spaniards. And liberal-minded men will not be restrained from these investigations by the hierarchical pretensions of Rome, nor allow themselves quietly to accept an answer to the enquiry at the dictum of papal authority. The recent debate will direct attention afresh to the matter. And Roman Catholics, politically enfranchised as many of them are, and awakening to the value of spiritual freedom, will not be slow to push to their true result the historical investigations to which they have been invited. It was a wise policy on the part of the protestant representatives to give especial prominence to the historical character and aspect of the point at issue. In the light of history the papal pretensions vanish. The Romish court may fill the Index Expurgatus with books maintaining that Peter never was at Rome, and warn the faithful to

avoid them. It will be in vain. This age is pre-eminently an age of historical criticism, and men will apply their scientific methods to the foundations and groundwork of the papacy; and if these foundations cannot endure the test, the structure based upon them must either adjust itself to altered conditions, and thus falsify its own claims, or be swept away by the advance of scientific thought and human progress. The tide will not obey the commands of Canute. A. J.

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Biblical Antiquity of Man; or, Man not older than the Adamic Creation. Being a consideration of his Biblical, Archæological, and Geological History, and designed to meet the theories respecting man's origin and great antiquity advocated in recent Geological Works and Papers. By the Rev. S. Lucas F.G.S. London: Whittaker & Co.

The object of this work, as the title indicates, is to show the harmony subsisting between Bible teaching and the teaching by history in reference to the antiquity of man. In discussing this subject the author shows a judicious liberality, avoiding the extreme of orthodox tenacity on the one hand, and the looseness of sceptical speculation on the other. While discarding as mythical and monstrous the theories of man's antiquity, so much in vogue among modern *savans*, he is of opinion that the date of man's creation must be put several thousand years further back than the commonly-received period. The opinion is based on a number of incidental points of Old Testament Chronology, which, separately, are perhaps of no great account; but, in the aggregate, suggest and sustain a strong probability. The existing systems of Bible Chronology are confessedly unsatisfactory in themselves and in conflict with each other; but how it is possible, from the conflicting elements, to construct a consistent and satisfactory scheme the author does not venture to pronounce, nor do we. The general argument of this book is worked out and sustained with great power. The Noahic flood, so summarily and contemptuously disposed of by modern scientists, is made in these pages to play an important part in accounting for animal remains found in mountain caves and other unlikely places far above the sea level and adjacent river beds; and the archives of Archæology, both of the Eastern and Western world, are made to yield a number of deeply interesting

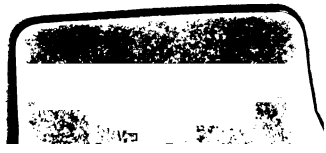
facts for similar purposes. Altogether this book gives unmistakable evidence of patient research, severe thought, and logical skill; and even if it fails in all points to produce conviction, it cannot but yield pleasure and profit to the attentive reader.

Creation Redemptive: A Contribution to Theological Science. Being an attempt to show that Creation was originated, and that the earth was constructed and stored on redeeming plan and for redeeming purpose. By the Rev. S. LUCAS, F.G.S. Second Edition. London: James Nisbet and Co.

THE main idea of this book, namely, "that the earth was constructed and stored on redeeming plan and for redeeming purpose," has frequently been glanced at, in a more or less cursory way, by theological writers. This the author confesses, and points to numerous passages in standard divines where the idea is broached. Indeed, one does not very well see how it could be missed by theologians who, not content with surface and superficial views, traced the more occult connections and analogies between the works and the word of God. Not, however, until now, as far as we are aware, has there been any well-considered and successful attempt to develop the idea in scientific form, and to show the data of fact by which it is sustained. But as it is principally based upon the findings of Geology, whose marvellous teachings have only recently attracted much attention, it is not to be wondered at that even our most philosophical divines should have hitherto contented themselves with superficial reference to what they had not the means of more fully developing. Mr. Lucas is singularly well qualified for the task to which he addresses himself in this volume. In connection with the studies specially bearing on his calling as a Christian minister, he has devoted himself for a number of years to geological research; and he has exactly that cast of mind which fits him to trace the purposes of God in the constitution of nature. The momentous and fascinating theme here discussed has engaged much of his thinkings, and he now furnishes us with the result in a model volume, replete with powerful and eloquent writing. We readily admit the author makes out a strong case, supported by numerous apposite and incontestable facts, and flanked by ingenuity and conclusive reasoning. Whatever may be thought of his theory—and there are few who will not at least allow it to be plausible—no devout Christian can possibly read this volume without being elevated in thought and feeling.

The Beautiful in Christianity; or, Entire Sanctification the Grand Centre of the Christian Religion. By SILAS HENN. London: George Lamb.

IN this book the Methodist doctrine

of entire sanctification is expounded, defended, and illustrated with simplicity and fervour. Though we are of opinion that in some instances distinctions are drawn where there is no difference, and Scripture proofs applied which are somewhat inapposite, we nevertheless yield a hearty approval to the main scope of the book, and think it well calculated to nourish the church in faith and holiness. It is full of the pith and marrow of the Gospel, breathes a devout and heavenly spirit, and is written in a terse and lively style.

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